EMPIRES AND REVOLUTIONS

CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM & HIS CONTEMPORARIES

EDITED BY CARLA SASSI AND SILKE STROH

VISIT…

Empires and Revolutions

Cunninghame Graham and his contemporaries

Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham (1852–1936) wearing gaucho costume, c. 1870. Image courtesy of the Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum.

SCOTTISH LITERATURE INTERNATIONAL

Empires and Revolutions

Cunninghame Graham and his contemporaries

Edited by
CARLA SASSI and SILKE STROH

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Introduction

CARLA SASSI AND SILKE STROH

The century that straddles the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, largely invisible in conventional periodisations, represents in fact a meaningful unit of political and cultural history. 1850 to 1950 is a dramatic period that sees the European political set-up both subject to revolutionary upheavals and transformed through nineteenth-century imperialistic expansion and the rise of twentieth-century 'modernising' authoritarian states. It opens soon after the 1848 'Springtime of the Peoples' – the most widespread revolutionary wave in European history – and closes after two world conflicts that bring to an end, at least as far as Europe is concerned, both overseas imperialist aspirations and the idea of revolution as a means of social and political transformation. The 1950s mark the beginning of a new age with new complex challenges: the Cold War, the atomic armament race, the process of decolonisation are the distinguishing features not simply of a new political climate, but of a new phase in the process of globalisation initiated in the previous century, and continuing to the present day.

Investigating imperial history is indeed about, as Linda Colley puts it, identifying 'the manifold connections that existed over time between different sectors of the world and different peoples'.[1] This is especially true of this specific period, marked by 'connexity' – encounter, exchange, conflict, and mobility – on an unprecedented global scale. The vast mobilisation of 'networks of people, goods and capital'[2] fostered by authoritarian empires and by the burgeoning capitalist market was also inextricably linked with the global circulation of revolutionary discourses. Transnational ideologies and practices supporting systems of control and oppression and centred on notions of race, nation, and social class generated and diffused equally transnational counter-ideologies and movements of resistance. From the 1848 European uprisings against authoritarian monarchs and for popular sovereignty to the anti-colonial struggles that spread around the globe in

the first half of the twentieth century, dreams of dramatic political change and social justice crossed and echoed each other throughout this period.

It is worthwhile to highlight how, in this period, the border between theory and struggle was extremely porous: the value of democracy and of human rights was passionately advocated by varying constellations of intellectual radicals – socialist, nationalist/independentist, anti-colonial, or feminist – often through engagement both in theoretical investigation and in political activism. Revolutionary radicalism then, as much as imperialism and capitalism, entailed different and complex forms of border-crossing. The volunteers who fought with Garibaldi to fulfil his project of Italian unification and radical reform in 1860 included writers and intellectuals, as well as a conspicuous number of foreigners. The internationalism of the labour movement and its many cross-border exchanges of theories and tactics were also reflected on the organisational level, for instance in the First (International Workingmen's Association, 1864–1876), Second (Socialist, 1889–c. 1916), Third (Communist, 1919–1943) and Fourth (Trotskyist, founded 1938) Internationals, the International Federation of Trade Unions (1913–1945), the Red International of Labour Unions (1921–1937), and the World Federation of Trade Unions (founded 1945). Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham (1852–1936) – a key figure in the present volume – championed, both as a writer and an activist, anti-colonial causes in South America and Morocco, and supported both Irish and Scottish nationalist movements. The Spanish Civil War attracted politically conscious writers from all over the world, who both fought against General Franco's army and produced reports and representations that helped to make this one of the iconic events of the tumultuous 1930s. World-leading intellectuals, from Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) to George Padmore (1902–1959) and Frantz Fanon (1925–1961), led and/or participated in local anti-colonial struggles, inspiring anti-colonial movements across the continents.

It can be further argued that, between 1850 and 1950, imperial expansion and revolutionary struggles contributed to the simultaneous enhancement and collapse of the borders between the local and the global. Globalisation, in fact, unfolded as a complex dialectical process: it intensified transnational linkages, and yet, the more it intensified them, the more valuable local

identities became;[3] it strengthened the nation state, leading 'to the formation of new or expanded empires', but it also 'internationalised a growing sense of nationality and nationalism by spreading metropolitan ideas and institutions'.[4] Nationalism, in its manifold manifestations, also implied a similar pattern of conflicting and converging orientations: national identities were both shaped/reinforced and threatened by colonial encounter as on the one side they triggered and supported imperialistic expansion, while on the other they functioned as a powerful line of anti-colonial resistance; they could fuel exclusive and racist ideologies, but also foster transnational solidarity and ideals of universal brotherhood. Globalisation and nationalism, rather than two irreconcilable opposites, in this period were visibly part of the same continuum – a complex network of social and political forces and attitudes that at times clashed, at times converged.

Finally, it is worthwhile to stress here that trajectories of democracy in this period were deeply related to radical artistic and literary expressions. Throughout the nineteenth century, for example, literary works often advocated and reverberated ideas of social reform or radical change: from romantic ideals of rebellion and individualism and concern with social justice in the first half of the century, to the commitment of realist novelists in Europe and beyond in the second half – Elizabeth Gaskell, Charles Dickens, Victor Hugo, Émile Zola, Leo Tolstoy, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Mark Twain, to mention just a few. The first decades of the twentieth century were marked by a crucial alliance between political radicalism and avant-garde aesthetic: modernists across the globe often articulated radical agendas, from Vladimir Mayakovsky's celebration of the Russian revolution to Diego Rivera's re-invention of Mexican mural art; from Virginia Woolf's and Mina Loy's militantly feminist articulations to francophone African and Caribbean intellectuals' development of the new literary, cultural, and political philosophy of négritude in the 1930s; from James Joyce's and Hugh MacDiarmid's critical engagement with, respectively, Irish and Scottish nationalism to the many anti- and post-colonial voices that rose after the decline of European empires. Literature and art are often, in this period, a vehicle for social and political protest, as well as an instrument of change – a transformative practice that offers an alternative vision of politics, society, and culture.

Scotland is at the crossroads of many of the epochal changes and turmoils that shake this period. As a partner in the British Empire, it played a significant role in the colonisation and exploitation of non-European countries and peoples.[5] At the same time, Scotland has also been perceived as being on the *receiving* end of marginalisation, as a small stateless nation within a United Kingdom that has often been dominated by the largest partner, England – so much so that some have even polemically labelled Scotland as an 'internal colony'.[6] While the colonial label is controversial, the existence of political, economic, and cultural marginalisation is much more widely agreed on, and has also produced counter-discourses – supporting projects of cultural and/or political independence – that resonate with anti-colonial strategies and representation patterns. Scotland followed an ambivalent trajectory, supporting the Union and actively profiting from slavery and other forms of colonial exploitation around the globe in the nineteenth century, and then developing an anti-imperialist and gradually more independentist attitude in the course of the twentieth century. The recent growth of interest in postcolonial approaches to Scottish Studies engages with both sides of this ambivalence.[7] In the period that is the focus of this book, Scotland had no independent statehood; nonetheless, it retained not only its own cultural identity, but also a separate legal system and distinct religious and educational institutions: it did arguably develop its own ideas of justice and of a just society, in part different from those upheld in England, and in part inevitably in 'dialogue' with them. Radicalism is also an important and specific element in the Scottish literary tradition, whether in English, Scots, or Gaelic: Tom Leonard's *Radical Renfrew* (an anthology collecting poems and songs of protest written in the locality of Renfrewshire) and the Gaelic poets of the land agitation movement provide a meaningful illustration of this.[8]

R. B. Cunninghame Graham, in both his life and his writings, embodies all the tensions and contradictions of this dramatic period, and the complex interaction between imperial and revolutionary discourses – perhaps more so than any other writer of the time. Writer, journalist, international traveller, adventurer, champion of democratic liberties, left-wing radical, and Scottish nationalist (successively president of the Scottish Labour Party and the

Scottish National Party), Graham was a key literary and political figure during this eventful period in Scottish and global history.[9] His cosmopolitan biography aligns him with various subjects that are of key interest in social and scholarly debates today, such as migration, transculturalism, and the rise of global citizenship. Of mixed Scottish and Spanish family background, Graham, alias 'Don Roberto', was not only bilingual in English and Spanish, but also spoke French, Portuguese, and Arabic. He lived in Britain, continental Europe, South America, and the United States, and also travelled in Mexico, North Africa, and Ceylon. His journeys and migrations reveal Scotland's alignment with European overseas imperialisms, while his involvement in the Scottish Home Rule movement and the nationalist parties can be seen as part of a global anti-colonial struggle touching, in the same period, Ireland, India, Kenya, and many other countries.

Graham's combination of nationalist and socialist sympathies also set a key precedent for present-day Scottish politics, where nationalist and left-wing agendas (of varying degrees of radicalism) are likewise often intertwined. His ongoing significance as a political founding figure and reference point is also reflected in the fact that he was commemorated in a dedicated debate in the Scottish Parliament on 20 June 2012, and that one of the many new SNP MPs in Westminster referred to him in his maiden speech in mid-2015.[10]

There are also important interconnections between Graham's socialist leanings and his critique of overseas imperialism: at times, his condemnation of colonial conquest and of racial and ethnic discrimination is actually voiced in the same breath with a denunciation of class inequality that implies a need for social(ist) change in Europe and the USA – another example of the connection between the themes of 'empires' and 'revolutions'.[11]

As a literary figure, Graham is interesting not only for his own work (which includes short stories and sketches, travel writing, histories, and biographies), but also for his dynamic relationship with (and influence on) other key authors, such as Joseph Conrad, Bernard Shaw, or Hugh MacDiarmid.

In view of Graham's importance on the literary and political scene of his time, and his engagement with so many themes that are at the centre of

social and academic debates today, it is surprising that his works were for a long time relatively neglected by modern audiences, and that he often seems to have been better known in Latin America than in his native Britain or in other English-speaking countries. He has also been somewhat neglected by academic researchers: while there are several important biographies,[12] his writings have not received many thorough treatments in the field of modern literary criticism.[13] Recent efforts to remedy this situation include the publication of a major new edition of Graham's stories and sketches in 2011–12, the foundation of the Cunninghame Graham Society in 2013, initiatives to provide the Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum with a Cunninghame Graham Library (eventually opened in February 2016, with the largest electronic Cunninghame Graham archive world-wide), and, indeed, this volume published by Scottish Literature International, the academic imprint of the Association for Scottish Literary Studies.[14]

This is, to our knowledge, the first attempt in Scottish literary studies to map the hundred-year time-span from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century – two centuries often thought to be characterised by altogether different cultural/political moods – as a single period with strong lines of continuity. While our main focus is on Graham, as one of the most representative and neglected figures of this period, the volume effectively illustrates the interconnectedness of writers in this period, and their subtle engaging with similar and/or interdependent themes and concerns in relation to globalisation, imperialism, democracy, civil rights, and social justice. Graham's interest and specific value is no doubt highlighted by the context offered in the present collection, which foregrounds his originality and which will hopefully contribute to drawing him out of the obscurity into which conventional chronologies and approaches have thrown him.

Given the central role of Graham, as a representative writer and as a focal point through which this historical period is re-considered, the volume opens with Cedric Watts's chapter 'R. B. Cunninghame Graham: Janiform Genius'. Watts, one of the leading experts on Graham, takes the various paradoxes in Don Roberto's life and oeuvre as a starting point for a fascinating overview, charting the broader context that sets the frame for

subsequent chapters with their more specific foci. Eminent historian John M. MacKenzie in his chapter 'The Local and the Global: The Multiple Contexts of Cunninghame Graham' widens the context further by mapping the role of imperial (and anti-imperial) practices and ideologies in Graham's background, his life and writings, and in Scottish and British society at large, taking account of geographical, social, economic, and cultural factors. Key themes include heroism, failure, frontiers and culture contact, 'civilisation' and 'barbarism', class, proto-environmentalism, and Graham's critique of the ill-treatment of animals. MacKenzie also discusses the way in which Graham is treated in modern scholarship and memory culture, and relates him to various social and cultural issues of our own day.

The next two chapters investigate the specific role of slavery within the wider context of Scottish imperial involvements. Jochen Petzold offers a case study of a highly popular Scottish writer from the generation before Graham, some of whose works may well have formed part of Graham's own juvenile reading, namely R. M. Ballantyne. The chapter analyses three of his adventure stories – *The Red Eric* and *The Gorilla Hunters* from 1861 and *Black Ivory* from 1873 – with regard to their attitudes towards slavery and the slave trade. While critical of those practices, they also show various ambiguous and problematic elements, including simplifications and misrepresentations, an eschewal of more fundamentalist criticism in favour of a concentration on personal morality, as well as paternalism and a continuing belief in the general good potential of European (and perhaps especially British) imperialism. The Cunninghame Graham family's own connections to slavery are discussed by Michael Morris in 'Don Roberto on Doughty Deeds; or, Slavery and Family History in the Scottish Renaissance'. This chapter focuses on R. B. Cunninghame Graham's eighteenth-century ancestor Robert Cunninghame Graham of Gartmore, also a writer and politician, who had significantly added to the family fortune as the owner of a slave plantation in Jamaica, and on his descendant's 1925 biography about him, *Doughty Deeds*. The Cunninghame Grahams are discussed as a case study of more general features in the treatment of slavery in modern Scottish memory culture, between acknowledgement and amnesia.

Other aspects of global connectedness are explored in Jessica Homberg-Schramm's contribution about John Francis Campbell, best known as a collector of Highland folk-tales. This chapter focuses on another facet of his work, namely his account of his journey around the world in the mid-1870s, *My Circular Notes* (1876). Key themes include European imperialism as an early stage of globalisation; Campbell's observations on diasporas, multiculture, old and new national identities; and his ambivalence between notions of European superiority on the one hand and universal human commonalities, equality, and cosmopolitanism on the other. It is interesting to read this writer against Graham, whose writing addresses similar themes, albeit in an often more radically critical manner.

Two chapters focus on different aspects of Graham's relation with and influence on Argentine culture and politics. Richard Niland's 'Nineteenth-Century Argentine Literature and the Writings of R. B. Cunninghame Graham' explores the complex 'conversation' binding Graham to a number of writers – Argentine or visitors – and politicians. One of these was Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Argentine activist, intellectual, writer, statesman, and the seventh president of Argentina, whose book *Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism* (1845) was directly referenced in Graham's *A Vanished Arcadia* (1901). Another important figure was Juan Manuel de Rosas, a politician and army officer who ruled Buenos Aires Province and the Argentine Confederation. Niland reveals how Graham's Argentine sketches deeply unsettle contemporary binaries of civilisation and barbarism by focusing on gaucho nomadic culture and Argentina's borderlands rather than on metropolitan, 'European' Buenos Aires; it also discloses Graham's deep involvement in and knowledge of literary representations of gaucho culture. Jennifer Hayward's 'R. B. Cunninghame Graham and the Argentinean *angelito*' also re-evaluates Graham's anti-imperial stance. Her chapter investigates travellers' representations of a local and dying tradition – a particular kind of wake after the death of a young child, or *angelito* – vis-à-vis profound socio-cultural transformations in *fin de siècle* South America, and compares them to Graham's short story 'Un Angelito'. Focusing on the story's many intertextual references, Hayward identifies a series of strikingly original

and subversive features that undermine conventional accounts of the ritual, thus providing an articulated meditation on the destructive dynamics and outcomes of imperial encounters.

Lindy Moore's 'Opposing Racism and Imperialism: Isabella Fyvie Mayo's Search for Literary Space(s), 1880–1914' brings to our attention the contribution of an extremely interesting writer who has been largely (and unjustly) forgotten. Writing for religious and family periodicals, often under the pseudonym of 'Edward Garrett', Fyvie Mayo published numberless articles and authored serialised fiction. Notwithstanding the limitations of the popular genres she privileged, her stance appears extraordinarily radical: militantly opposed to imperialism, militarism, racism, and religious intolerance, she also demonstrated an understanding of the dynamics of globalisation and of its devastating effect on both colonised and coloniser at the turn of the century. Her 'domestic' and quiet militancy provides an interesting counterpoint to Graham's 'nomadic' perspective.

Two further investigations of Graham's oeuvre shift the focus to his more overtly committed and militant prose works. Lachlan Munro, in 'The Empire in Cunninghame Graham's Parliamentary Speeches and Early Writings 1885–1900', explores Graham's anti-colonial and anti-imperial stance through a re-reading of his political texts. His parliamentary speeches reveal an audacious and iconoclastic polemicist who does not hesitate to equate the Royals with parasites and to openly denounce Britain's colonial policies in Ireland. His anti-imperialist tracts articulate, with a similarly ruthless lucidity and vitriolic rhetoric, the crimes of 'English colonialism' in Africa. Munro engages also with the problematics of such writings, often overloaded with anger, and nonetheless highlights their pioneering role, written, as they were, at the height of British imperialism. John C. McIntyre's 'White-Skinned Barbarians in Selected Tales by R. B. Cunninghame Graham' engages with similar themes, focusing on a number of stories – 'Buta', 'Bristol Fashion' and 'A Hegira' in particular – depicting encounters between white colonisers and settlers of European descent on the one hand, and indigenous populations in Mexico, Africa, and the Middle East on the other. This contribution lucidly re-reads the role of the Other in Graham's fiction

by charting and assessing a kaleidoscopic range of depictions of 'natives', and by highlighting the writer's relentless critique of contemporary ideas of 'civilisation'.

The collection is aptly closed by a chapter discussing a topic deeply interrelated with the themes of empire, revolution, globalisation, and democracy that structure this collection. Capitalism as an economic system is deeply tied by a relationship of cause-and-effect to imperialism and globalisation, and it arguably both mobilises and hinders processes of democratisation and quests for social justice. Arianna Introna's 'Violet Jacob on the Capital Relation: Local and Global Flows of Privilege and (Im)mobility' deals with a writer who, like Graham, led a 'nomadic' life, moving physically and emotionally between her native Scotland, India, Wales, and other places. Jacob's marked critique of social and economic structures producing inequity and suffering is, however, much subtler than that articulated by Graham, and revolves around images of (im)mobility – the circulation or stasis of people as well as of commodities. Introna convincingly argues that Jacob's fiction investigates the difference, not only in terms of attitude but also of social privilege, between characters whose life is tied to a single locality and characters who lead a more nomadic existence, subtly disclosing the entanglement between local power structures and global capital flows.

Many of the issues, tensions, and conflicts that characterise this period, with which the writers discussed in the present collections engaged, are easily traceable in the age we live in, when they seem to have reached, rather than their solution, an extreme and dramatic development. While we struggle to deal with aggressive forms of globalisation and neo-imperialistic forms of economic exploitation and political oppression, and reflect on the future of democracy within a growingly unsettled and connected world society, it is again necessary to turn our attention to the source of these problems. Arguably, then, an attentive re-assessment of the accelerated and troubling changes that swept the world between 1850 and 1950 can provide us with new, useful insights. Within such re-assessment, Scotland, a small, stateless nation connected to Britain, the British Empire, and the rest of the world in complex ways, may indeed represent an important focal point.

Notes

1 Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World 1600–1850* (London: Cape, 2002), p. 138.

2 *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850–1914*, ed. Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

3 See, for example, *Globalization and the Challenges of a New Century: A Reader*, ed. Patrick O'Meara, Howard Mehlinger, and Matthew Krain (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), p. 439.

4 P. J. Cain and A. G Hopkins, *British Imperialism 1688–2000* (1993; 2nd edn, London: Routledge, 2002), p. 663.

5 Key publications on this subject include Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, and Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001); *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600–1800*, ed. Ned C. Landsman (London: Rosemont, 2001); T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600–1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2003); Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750–1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); John M. MacKenzie, with Nigel R. Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa: Ethnicity, Identity, Gender and Race, 1772–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Giovanna Covi, Joan Anim-Addo, Velma Pollard, and Carla Sassi, *Caribbean–Scottish Relations: Colonial and Contemporary Inscriptions in History, Language and Literature* (London: Mango, 2007); *Scotland and the British Empire*, ed. T. M. Devine and John M. MacKenzie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); and Michael Morris, *Scotland and the Caribbean, c. 1740–1833: Atlantic Archipelagos* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

6 One of the earliest and most influential academic examples is Michael Hechter's *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development 1536–1966* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975).

7 For instance, see Douglas S. Mack, *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006); *Scottish Literature and Postcolonial Literature: Comparative Texts and Critical Perspectives*, ed. Michael Gardiner, Graeme Macdonald, and Niall O'Gallagher (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011); Stefanie Lehner, *Subaltern Ethics in Contemporary Scottish and Irish Literature: Tracing Counter-Histories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Silke Stroh, *Uneasy Subjects: Postcolonialism and Scottish Gaelic Poetry* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011) and *Gaelic Scotland in the Colonial Imagination: Anglophone Writing from 1600 to 1900* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2017); as well as *Within and without Empire: Scotland across the (Post)colonial Borderline*, ed. Carla Sassi and Theo van Heijnsbergen (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2013).

8 *Radical Renfrew: Poetry in the West of Scotland from the French Revolution to the First World War*, ed. Tom Leonard (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1990); and, for instance, *Tuath is Tighearna / Tenants and Landlords: An Anthology of Gaelic Poetry of Social and Political Protest from the Clearances to the Land Agitation (1800–1890)*, ed. and trans. Donald E. Meek (Edinburgh: Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 1995).

9 On Graham and the SNP, also see Cliff Williamson, 'Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham', in *Scottish National Party Leaders*, ed. Gerry Hassan and James Mitchell (London: Biteback, 2016), pp. 65–85. For reasons of brevity, we have mostly used the

shortened form 'Graham' rather than the full form 'Cunninghame Graham' throughout the book, with the exception of the name's first occurrence in an essay, or passages where the shortened form might have caused ambiguity.

10 For a transcript of the 2012 debate, see the Scottish Parliament's 'Official Report' on www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/report.aspx [accessed 9 December 2016]. The 2015 maiden speech was given by Brendan O'Hara; for a video, see www.youtube.com; for a written transcript, see the Commons Hansard archives for 27 May 2015, columns 109–11 (col. 109), www.publications.parliament.uk [both accessed 5 December 2016].

11 For instance, see 'The American Indians: Ghosts Dancing' and 'Salvation by Starvation' (letters to the *Daily Graphic*, publ. 29 November 1890, p. 14, and 22 December 1890, p. 6), both repr. in 'Three Letters on the Indian Question', in *The North American Sketches of R. B. Cunninghame Graham*, ed. John Walker (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1986), pp. 26–33 (pp. 26–29).

12 For instance, see Laurence Davies and Cedric Watts, *Cunninghame Graham: A Critical Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979; repr. 2008); Jean Cunninghame Graham (Lady Polwarth), *Gaucho Laird: The Life of R. B. Cunninghame Graham – "Don Roberto"* ([n.p.] [Glasgow, KY]: Long Riders' Guild Press, [n.d.] [2004/2005]); Anne Taylor, *The People's Laird: A Life of Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham* ([n.p.]: Tobias Press, 2005). There is also an interesting television documentary directed by Les Wilson, entitled *The Adventures of Don Roberto*, from 2008.

13 Notable exceptions include James Steel Smith, 'R. B. Cunninghame Graham as a Writer of Short Fiction', *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920*, 12.2 (1969), pp. 61–75; Laurence Davies, 'R. B. Cunninghame Graham: The Kailyard and After', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 11.3 (1974), pp. 156–77; Chapters 7, 8, and 11 of Davies and Watts's critical biography (pp. 152–214, 274–85, 309–11, 317); Cedric Watts, *R. B. Cunninghame Graham* (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1983); John Walker, 'The Scottish Writings of R. B. Cunninghame Graham', *Scottish Tradition*, 13 (1984–85), pp. 25–33; Chris GoGwilt, 'Broadcasting News from Nowhere: R. B. Cunninghame Graham and the Geography of Politics in the 1890s', in *High and Low Moderns: Literature and Culture, 1889–1939*, ed. Maria DiBattista and Lucy McDiarmid (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 235–54; Andrew C. Long, 'A Refusal and Traversal: Robert Cunninghame Graham's Engagement with Orientalism in *Mogreb-El-Acksa*', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 63.3 (2008), pp. 376–410. There are also useful comments in the editorial introductions and appendices to R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Collected Stories and Sketches*, ed. Alan MacGillivray and John C. McIntyre, 5 vols (Glasgow: Kennedy & Boyd, 2011–12).

14 For more information on the Cunninghame Graham Society, see www.facebook.com/groups/CunninghameGrahamSociety/ [last accessed 10 November 2016]; on the Cunninghame Graham Library, see www.smithartgalleryandmuseum.co.uk/about/cunninghame-graham-libray/ [*sic*] [last accessed 17 January 2017].

1. R. B. Cunninghame Graham: Janiform Genius

CEDRIC WATTS

1: Acknowledgement

A sunny morning in 1963.

I sat in R. B. Cunninghame Graham's chair at his desk in his study at Ardoch. That study had remained unchanged since he had last sat there in 1936. All around me on the shelves were first editions of books by Joseph Conrad, Henry James, Thomas Hardy, W. H. Hudson, John Galsworthy, and others. Many of them bore inscriptions to R. B. Cunninghame Graham. My genial host was Admiral Sir Angus Cunninghame Graham, K.B.E., C.B. He was genial partly because I too had served in the Royal Navy, and largely because I was a student taking an interest in his neglected uncle.

'Have any letters survived?' I asked.

'Boxes of them,' he said. 'I'll bring some in.'

The first cardboard box contained bundles of letters tied with pink ribbons (once red, now faded). Untying those ribbons, I became a Lilliputian untying gigantic Gullivers, because when, with trembling hands, I opened the envelopes, here were unpublished letters by Joseph Conrad, Henry James, Oscar Wilde, Thomas Hardy, William Morris, and George Bernard Shaw. Blasphemously, I thought: 'This is better than the raising of Lazarus; because Lazarus did not write *Heart of Darkness* or *The Turn of the Screw* or *News from Nowhere*. I'm a midwife to the mighty.' Literary research can sometimes be tedious (e.g. scanning thousands of pages of the *Glasgow Herald* as I sought letters by Graham), but that morning it was a tangible epiphany. As they emerged from dark boxed bondage, I felt irradiated by the glory of the resurrected great.

The Admiral, when writing his address on letters to me, did not write 'Scotland'; he wrote 'N.B.' for 'North Britain'. Nevertheless, I here renew my thanks to the late Admiral Sir Angus Cunninghame Graham, the kindly conservative who cherished his radical uncle.

2: Paradoxes

The Roman god Ianus or Janus is the two-faced god: he looks in opposite directions at the same time, so he may be regarded as the tutelary deity of paradoxes.

R. B. Cunninghame Graham was amply janiform: a plethora of paradoxes. A romantic and a cynic; an idealist and a sceptic; a Don Quixote and a Hamlet;[1] a nationalist and an internationalist;[2] a socialist and a conservative; a revolutionary and a gradualist;[3] a nobleman and a cowboy; a South American cattle-rancher and horse-trader who was also 'the uncrowned King of Scotland';[4] a dandy and a convict; a Justice of the Peace who headed a riot;[5] an anti-racist and an anti-Semite;[6] an atheist and a defender of Jesuits.[7] He opposed the Great War but then worked for the War Office; he opposed cruelty to animals but selected horses to suffer and die in battlefields; he was a Scottish landowning aristocrat who advocated the nationalisation of the land; and an anarchist[8] who was proud of his descent from King Robert II. According to Friedrich Engels, he was a Marxist, but he declared that he hoped to see Lenin hanged.[9] He was a striving radical who declared the futility of such striving: 'It results in nothing at the end', he said.[10]

In 1886, he founded the Scottish Home Rule Association, the forerunner of the Scottish National Party, but, famously, he later said that one aim of Scottish nationalism was 'the pleasure of knowing that the taxes were wasted in Edinburgh instead of in London'.[11] In 1888, he founded Britain's first Labour Party, the Scottish Labour Party, yet, in 1908, he alleged that Labour MPs would do more good if they came to the House 'in a body drunk and tumbling about on the floor'.[12] He stood as a Liberal and as a Labour candidate, but stated: 'Socialists, Liberals, & Tories, are all the same, once in office. The same dogs with different collars.'[13] A foe of economic imperialism, he strove to become a trader in Morocco.[14] An erudite scholar, he advocated cultural primitivism.[15] In his prose, some flaws become merits.[16] Aware of solipsism, descriptively vivid, his writings exemplify the Nuttall Paradox.[17] He was a literary realist who was mythogenic; a champion of truth whose marriage was a lie.[18] A childless husband, he engendered many offspring. His greatest

literary achievements were Conrad's *Typhoon*, *Heart of Darkness*, and *Nostromo*.[19] If he was Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham, whose first name indicates royal descent, and whose last three names proclaim ownership of Scottish estates,[20] he was also Mohammed el Fasi, who would be held captive in Morocco, and 'the Modern Don Quixote', and even 'the cow-boy dandy'.[21] Conrad thought that Graham was an anachronism, a *frondeur*, maintaining chivalrous values in a materialistic age; yet, in letters to Garnett, Graham appears to be an existentialist before that term was invented.[22] He could be dashing, wild and impetuous: Conrad's son Borys told me that Graham carried a silver-plated revolver in a shoulder-holster; Borys would toss apples in the air for Graham to shoot: 'He never missed', said Borys, loyally.[23] But, if Graham was a showman, he could also campaign long and hard in grim and depressing conditions. In fiery polemics, he urged people to act now on behalf of the downtrodden; yet repeatedly his writings sound the elegiac, depressive note of one who sees the folly and futility of human endeavours, and who, as an atheist and obsessive memorialist, believes that we are all defeated by death and oblivion.

3: Resolutions: the Underdogs

The difference between a paradox and a contradiction is that a paradox is potentially resolvable. One way of reconciling various apparently opposed aspects of Graham is simply to expand the time-scale; another is to define the terms. For instance, this childless man's 'many offspring' were literary and artistic offspring: Saranoff in Shaw's *Arms and the Man*; Gould in Conrad's *Nostromo*; Mr X in Conrad's 'The Informer'; Mr Courtier in Galsworthy's *The Patrician*; Mr Graham in Wells's *When the Sleeper Awakes*; 'The Fencer' in the portrait by William Rothenstein; and Don Quixote in William Strang's series of etchings. A third way of reconciliation is to see a recurrent common factor – his perennial sympathy with the underdog. That sympathy reconciled his aristocratic heritage (the call of chivalry and *noblesse oblige*) with his forward-looking left-wing idealism. As with Morris in *News from Nowhere*, nostalgia for the transient past sometimes informed his vision of the possible future.

His underdogs had many breeds. I will list them:

1. The underdog could be a downtrodden nation or ethnic group. These include victims of imperialism within Europe, such as Poland, Scotland, or Ireland. Here was one of the bases of his friendship with Conrad: an often-melancholy Scottish nationalist, seeing Scotland ruled by the English, befriended an often-depressive Polish nationalist, whose Poland had been conquered by Austria, Prussia, and Russia.
2. Cunninghame Graham also sympathises with underdogs from outside Europe: again, the underdog could be a downtrodden people, for instance, the Sioux of North America, driven from their lands. One of the Sioux was Long Wolf, a performer in Buffalo Bill's 'Wild West' show who was buried in London, and who, thanks to Graham's essay about him, was in 1997 returned to his homeland.[24] Then there were the Mescaleros of central America; the Maoris of New Zealand; the Paraguayans decimated by following loyally their dictator, López;[25] and indeed all the so-called 'niggers', whom he so eloquently defended, scorning that prejudicial term. I imagine that his essay '"Bloody Niggers"', published in a Marxist periodical in 1897, was the first essay anywhere to assail not only imperialism and racism but also the very vocabulary that aids and abets imperialism and racism. In that respect he was about seventy years ahead of most people.
3. The underdog could be a whole sex: women, long the victims of discrimination. Graham had campaigned for them since the 1890s, and in 1908 he wrote a remarkably far-sighted essay, 'The Real Equality of the Sexes', which argues that even when women have the vote and gain economic equality with men, their position will be little changed unless a moral and sexual revolution gives the woman as much personal liberty as the man.[26]
4. The underdog could be a social class, the British working class; and, within that class, those particularly hard-done-by: the miners, the Cradley Heath chain-makers, the Bryant and May match-women, and the East End dockers.
5. There were the underdogs of historical writing: the Jesuits of Paraguay,

for example: his defence of them generated the film called *The Mission* (Roland Joffé, 1986). These underdogs included the indigenous African victims of imperialist armies. They even included, he argued, the Spanish *conquistadores*.

6. Other groups of social underdogs: boys aged under twelve working in coal-mines; Midland Railway signalmen working seventeen-hour shifts; and prostitutes and public entertainers, whom he depicted sympathetically: see, for example, 'Un Monsieur' in *Hope*,[27] 'Un Autre Monsieur' in *Charity*,[28] and 'The Pyramid' in *Success*.[29]
7. Misunderstood individuals, eccentrics, futile questers, lonely ignored folk. Heather Jock, for example, or Miss Christian Jean, or Chatterton the pamphleteer who denounced Queen Victoria as a 'licentious old queen', and even the Bible's 'Impenitent Thief' on the cross, far preferable (in Graham's view) to the obsequious victim who deferred to Jesus.[30]
8. The underdogs included under-rated artists: Conrad in 1897, struggling to establish his career, W. H. Hudson before the success of *Green Mansions*, William Barnes, the Wessex poet; the post-impressionist painters; the young Jacob Epstein; and Lewis Morris, the hungry artist who interviewed Graham in 1911 and was treated so generously.[31] We may add the Spanish company of amateur actors who performed *Don Juan Tenorio* at Tetuan in Morocco: a threadbare production that Graham found realistic and moving.
9. Other underdogs were those talented individuals who incurred public hostility: Friedrich Engels, with whom he campaigned and whom he described affectionately; Epstein again, when the Rima monument in Hyde Park was seen as scandalous; Parnell in his downfall, during the Kitty O'Shea scandal – Graham crossed the floor of the House of Commons to shake his hand; and Oscar Wilde, sentenced to jail at Reading, reviled and spat upon: Graham, who had survived Pentonville Jail, sent encouraging letters to Wilde at a time when many were spurning him.
10. A related category of underdog: the heroic failure. As, for example, the goldfish-carrier Amarabat, who expires in the desert; Antonio Conselheiro, the millenarian slain by the government's troops; Sir John

Grahame, who died defending Wallace at Falkirk; William Wallace himself, hung, drawn, and quartered by the English; John Graham of Claverhouse, known as 'Bonny Dundee', who died fighting for the Jacobite cause; the fanatical Islamist in the prophetic tale 'El Jehad'; and perhaps (in the sketch 'A Jesuit') the lonely tobacco priest returning to the Paraguayan wilderness: that tobacco priest who surely helped to engender Graham Greene's whisky priest in *The Power and the Glory*.[32]

11. Another sub-category: Suffering animals, such as pit-ponies, tram-horses, the bulls and horses who suffered in bull-rings, and the American bison. Here we should add the hunted albatross, for which he campaigned in letters to the *Saturday Review* in 1900. Perhaps we should add even bowl-jailed goldfish, like those that suffocated in the Saharan sun (see 'The Gold Fish' in *Thirteen Stories*). Of course, his beloved mustang, Pampa, he had rescued from the shafts of a Glaswegian tram-car.
12. There was also an ideological underdog: marked scepticism regarding religion, at a time when Christianity was a powerful state-sanctioned orthodoxy in the Western world, and when Christian providentialism was often invoked as a mainstay of imperialism. The sceptical positions expressed by Graham were a cluster ranging from agnosticism, leavened by whimsical assent, through atheism to antitheism. Atheism is the belief that God does not exist; antitheism is the notion that God, if existent, is callous or incompetent.[33] Graham shared this cluster with Conrad, Garnett, and Hardy.

In the tale 'Cruz Alta' and elsewhere, Graham expounded a paradoxical doctrine of the underdog, the doctrine of the failure of success and the success of failure. Thus, a leader, an idealist, or eccentric who fails, is preferable to a leader, a materialist, or conformist who succeeds. An exiled Stuart is better than a reigning George. This was partly a doctrine of self-consolation, given that Graham failed in his various business ventures, and his writings never achieved the commercial success attained by those of his friend Conrad. The doctrine derives partly from Christianity, since Christ's apparent failure was his triumph; partly from socialism, for those who try but fail to topple capitalism may seem the heroic vanguard; and partly from the

Romantic tradition. The doctrine was adopted and extended by one of Graham's admirers, Graham Greene, and given fullest expression in Greene's novel *The Power and the Glory*. Graham's espousal of failure thus engendered a literary success.

A central paradox of Graham is revealed in a letter he sent to Edward Garnett in 1899:

> 'Politics' you say. Yes, writing on politics is rot. But politics are good in themselves, this way. A man spends all his life for an idea (I speak of your Parnells etc), is spat upon, reviled, & laughed at, for a fool, dies broken hearted, hated by those he fought against, half understood (at most) by those he strove for, & most likely not thoroughly believing in the cause, for which he gave up his life.
>
> The last is the thing, & politics *that* way understood leaves literature millions of leagues behind, even from an artistic standpoint.[34]

That bears reflection. 'Even from an artistic standpoint'. A man who does not thoroughly believe in his own cause, who may have many sceptical reservations about the bases of his action, may yet choose to campaign untiringly for others, and in doing so he reconciles the moral and the aesthetic. The campaign has morally good ends, and the man's chosen career is a deliberate artefact: the lifetime career is a work of art. The notion may derive partly from Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Movement. It was Wilde who advocated the individual self as artefact, remarking: 'A little sincerity is a dangerous thing, and a good deal of it is absolutely fatal.'[35] The notion partly anticipates the existentialism of the 1950s, which advocated the construction of the self in defiance of convention. Graham's masterpiece, as Lavery noted, was indeed himself: for, as Chesterton observed, he achieved 'the adventure of being Cunninghame Graham'.[36]

One source of his paradoxes was his bi-focal vision. He knew those viewpoints from which, as though seen from a great distance, all human efforts and strivings seem vain; but he had also seen, in close-up, the misery of the Cradley Heath chain-makers, and knew that something could be done now to alleviate it. It is true that he had his advantages:

the estates, the patrician upbringing, and the slave-trade money – for his ancestor, Robert Graham of Gartmore (known as 'Doughty Deeds' after his poem), was a plantation-owner and slave-dealer in Jamaica. Nevertheless, few people with those advantages have been so energetic in crossing frontiers – frontiers between countries, vocations, social classes, and personal outlooks – and few of any background have been at once so versatile and so magnanimous.

It used to be alleged that he had a gift for involving himself in doomed projects. Those supposedly 'doomed projects' included militant trade-unionism, the launching of the Labour Party, free education, the eight-hour working day, an end to British imperialism, an effective Scottish National Party, and social justice for women. All these projects have to a greater or lesser degree been fulfilled. The allegation that he always supported lost causes is itself a lost cause. And, in view of the Scottish Nationalists' recent successes, it is good to recall his claim that Scottish Nationalism heralded internationalism: independence for Scotland, he said, should be the first step on the road to that internationalism which should be everybody's goal.[37]

4: *Conquistadores*

Among his historical writings, the biggest paradox was probably his attempt to depict the Spanish *conquistadores*, of all people, as underdogs. He claimed that they were the underdogs of histories by Protestant writers, notably by Prescott and Robertson, who, he alleged, were vehemently prejudiced against Catholics; but close examination of the writings of Prescott and Robertson shows that Graham was unfair to both writers.[38] Graham also tries to defend the *conquistadores* by using the following arguments: 1. At their worst, they were better (because of their intrepidity and religious sincerity) than were their modern imperialistic counterparts. 2. At their worst, they were no worse than the modern men. But sometimes he is obliged to concede that their cruelties set the appalling precedent. And, although Graham gives prominence to the relatively humane *conquistadores*, they still display a rebellious tendency to abuse his patronage by some act of brutality: Quesada had an Indian ally tortured to death, while Valdivia decreed the mutilation

of captives. D. H. Lawrence rebuked Graham for failing to register the full horror of the Conquest.[39]

Nevertheless, Graham's accounts of the Spanish Conquest enabled him repeatedly to denounce the moral and aesthetic failings of modern imperialism and commercialism, and to imply that, just as the Roman, the Islamic, and the Spanish empires had burgeoned and declined, so the same could happen to the British Empire and eventually even to the North American empire.

At primary school in the 1940s, I was taught patriotism and imperialism: I was taught that 'the British Empire is the glorious empire on which the sun never sets'. Forty years previously, Graham had foreseen its sunset.

And his vision was fully political because he saw beyond the political.

5: Conclusion

In 1890, Graham told Prince Kropotkin: 'We hope, by means of Socialism, to make men fit for Anarchy.'[40] He knew well the libertarian anarchism currently being expounded in Morris's *News from Nowhere*. In 1919 he wrote to Henry Arthur Jones, the playwright:

> Often with sea-boots on, or wet and miserable in a railway truck with the horses in the Argentine, or sweltering Colombia, or with the skipper on the bridge looking out for torpedoes, I have thought – where are the dreams of Morris? But on arriving at port, or at the camp, they have come back; they always do. Let us, I say, cherish them.[41]

As Laurence Davies reminds us,[42] Graham detested Calvinism and said that he believed in salvation by works and not by faith. But those letters to Kropotkin and Jones suggest that it was faith in certain long-term goals, above all a dream of liberated humanity, that sustained his local campaigns. That dream was an intermittent salutary antidote to his fear that the burgeoning of international capitalism ensured the sardine-tin in the fountain:[43] the triumph of materialistic uniformity, and the extirpation of colourful cultural diversity.

In his writings, Graham espoused an unshockable realism, recording faithfully man's inhumanity to man, the head tugged back as the throat is slashed.[44] He once declared Utopia intolerable to artistic minds.[45] But, in a final paradox: at least intermittently, when recalling those dreams of Morris, he surely endorsed Oscar Wilde's maxim, 'A map of the world that does not contain Utopia is not worth even glancing at'.[46]

Let us cherish Graham's map containing a Utopia that is international, secular, and libertarian.

Notes

In these notes, as in the chapter, 'Graham' should be regarded as an abbreviation of (and not a discourtesy to) R. B. Cunninghame Graham. If you seek more documentation than these notes provide, please consult *Cunninghame Graham: A Critical Biography* by Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979: hereafter *CGCB*) and *R. B. Cunninghame Graham* by Cedric Watts (Boston, MA: Twayne, G. K. Hall, 1983; hereafter *RBCG*).

1 Often called 'Don Roberto', he was also likened to Don Quixote, partly because of his Spanish ancestry, partly because of his appearance (wiry, bearded, equestrian), and largely because his questing idealism and left-wing campaigning seemed quixotic (supposedly deluded and doomed to failure). He resembled Hamlet in the brooding melancholy which is a recurrent feature of his works. Turgenev, in the essay 'Hamlet and Don Quixote' (*Fortnightly Review*, n.s., 56 (July–December 1894), pp. 191–205), cynically claimed that Hamlet and Don Quixote represented the two ends of the 'axle' of modern human nature: Graham provides remarkable verification of that claim.

2 While leading the Scottish National Party, he advocated internationalism. See *CGCB*, p. 253.

3 He was, explicitly and avowedly, the first socialist in Parliament (*CGCB*, p. 86). He was conservative in seeking to conserve so many traditions and locations that seemed to be threatened by commercialism and industrialism. He was a gradualist while in Parliament, advocating numerous reforms. He was a revolutionary in various speeches at various times, notably in the period from 1908 to 1913. Then, he campaigned alongside the veteran Marxist revolutionary, H. M. Hyndman. In 1911 (when Winston Churchill, fearing revolution, put the nation under martial law), Graham told Glasgow railwaymen that the workers now had the solidarity to hurl the Government from power. In 1913, in Hyndman's magazine *Justice*, he wrote: 'Enemies of the present state of things must be enemies not only of the State and all its works, but of the Churches and their moralities and faiths. There is no other halting-place for Socialists […]' (*CGCB*, p. 237).

4 'Uncrowned King of Scotland': see *RBCG*, pp. 6–7. In Scotland, Graham is reported to have said: 'I ought […], if I had my rights, to be the king of this country. And what a three weeks that would be!' (Ford Madox Ford, *Return to Yesterday* (London: Gollancz, 1931), p. 38). The basis of Graham's claim to the throne was as follows. The first of the

Stewart or Stuart kings, Robert II, had had numerous illegitimate children by a mistress, Elizabeth Mure. A papal dispensation of 1347 permitted Robert's marriage to Elizabeth and the legitimation of those children. After Elizabeth's death, Robert II married Euphemia Ross. Her sons were thought by some commentators to have better claims to the succession than their half-brothers by the marriage to Elizabeth. Graham was descended from the legitimate offspring of Euphemia, whereas Queen Victoria was descended from Robert III, originally an illegitimate offspring of Elizabeth. In *Faith* (London: Duckworth, 1909), p. 111, Graham therefore says of the Earls of Menteith (his ancestors): 'Their blood was redder than the King's.'

5 With John Burns, Graham was jailed for six weeks at Pentonville prison after being found guilty of 'unlawful assembly' at the 'Bloody Sunday' demonstration in Trafalgar Square (13 November 1887). Leading articles in *The Times* denounced the demonstrators as 'howling roughs' and said that the Government should consider whether Graham's attitude to law and order was 'compatible with his retention of the magistracy which he holds in three counties of Scotland'. See *Joseph Conrad's Letters to R. B. Cunninghame Graham*, ed. C. T. Watts (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 12–13.

6 He was splendidly anti-racist in '"Bloody Niggers"', first published in *The Social Democrat*, 1 (April 1897), pp. 104–09, reprinted in *Selected Writings of Cunninghame Graham*, ed. Cedric Watts (East Brunswick, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1981), pp. 58–67. This reprint preserves the original text of an essay which subsequently had been bowdlerised. Regarding the charge of anti-Semitism: see *CGCB*, pp. 249–50. Referring to the recent 'Red Sunday' massacre of British troops (on 21 November 1920) Graham wrote to R. E. Muirhead: 'these murders are instigated chiefly & certainly paid for by the band of international Jews, grouped around their fellow Jew, Mr. "De" Valera in New York'. In *Mogreb-el-Acksa* (London: Heinemann, 1898), p. 110, he alleges that Jews are 'without the slightest dignity of personal bearing'. See also 'El Tango Argentino' in Graham's *Brought Forward* (London: Duckworth, 1916), pp. 81–96 (p. 83): the narrator speaks of 'Jews and more Jews, Jewesses and more Jewesses, […] some of them married to Christians and turned Catholic, but betrayed by their Semitic type […]'. Nevertheless, Graham's close friends included Will Rothenstein, and he championed the works of Jacob Epstein.

7 'Atheist': When mortally ill, he told a doctor: 'Some people need religion like a wall to lean against, but I have never needed it' (*CGCB*, p. 287). He defended the Jesuits in numerous works, most notably in *A Vanished Arcadia* (London: Heinemann, 1901), arguing that in South America they protected the indigenous peoples from exploitation.

8 'An anarchist': see *CGCB*, p. 89.

9 'Marxist': Friedrich Engels told Wilhelm Liebknecht that Cunninghame Graham, MP, was 'Communist, Marxian, advocating the nationalisation of all means of production' (*CGCB*, p. 89). 'Lenin hanged': during the 1918 election campaign, Graham was asked whether he would be prepared to recognise the Bolshevik Government of Russia. He replied that he would be delighted to recognise Lenin and Trotsky – 'at the end of a long piece of hard rope' (*CGCB*, p. 244).

10 On 5 October 1889, Graham told John Burns that 'political life in this country is a mean and dirty struggle, & results in nothing at the end' (*CGCB*, p. 92).

11 'Taxes wasted in Edinburgh': Graham: *Notes on the District of Menteith, for Tourists and Others* (London: Black, 1895), p. 19.

12 Labour MPs better drunk: see Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, *My Diaries: Being a Personal Narrative of Events, 1888–1914*, 2 vols (London: Secker, 1919–20), II (*1900–1914*), p. 197.
13 'Same dogs': *CGCB*, p. 314.
14 For years, he strove to gain a concession to trade in Morocco. See *CGCB*, p. 221.
15 His scholarly erudition is well evidenced by, for example, the numerous literary allusions (to Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and others) which grace his works, by his love of the Spanish language, and by his etymological reflections. His anti-rational primitivism (by which, following Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, I mean a form of nostalgia for a relatively 'primitive' state of being) is illustrated, for example, in *Mogreb-el-Acksa*, p. 69, when he asks whether, if people were democratically governed and 'tamed', they would really be 'happier than the unregenerate Moors, who lie and steal, fight, fornicate, and generally behave themselves as if blood circulated in their veins and not sour whey?'.
16 See *RBCG*, p. 118.
17 He was aware of solipsistic notions: see *Mirages* (London: Heinemann, 1936), p. 6: 'It may well be […] that the world we live in is a mirage'. He is zealous in seeking vivid realism in his descriptive passages: 'We all must put our finger in the Saviour's wounds, before we can believe', he says (*Mirages*, p. 5). A. D. Nuttall's paradox, defined in his *A Common Sky* (London: Sussex University Press, 1974), is as follows. In recent centuries, the widely pervasive notion that solipsism may be valid (so that only the individual self has guaranteed reality) generates anxiety and a compensatory desire to prove that the world around us is as real as common sense suggests: hence not only the abundance of vivid descriptions in literature of the last three centuries, but also the high prestige accorded to them. See *RBCG*, p. 117.
18 In his lifetime, reviewers noted (sometimes with approval, sometimes with dismay) his unflinching descriptive realism. A reviewer in the *Spectator*, for instance, said: 'Readers who object to a spade being called a spade had better look elsewhere for their entertainment' (*RBCG*, p. 57). Graham was mythogenic: he attracted and helped to generate myths and legends about himself. Shaw termed him 'so incredible a personage'. With Graham's aid, the biographer Aimé F. Tschiffely romanticised Graham's career, not only in *Don Roberto* (London: Heinemann, 1937) but also in *This Way Southward* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1945) and *Tornado Cavalier* (London: Harrap, 1955). As for Graham's marriage: his wife, supposedly Gabriela or Gabrielle de la Balmondière, the daughter of a Spanish mother and a Chilean merchant of French descent (Francis de la Balmondière), was in reality Caroline Horsfall, a runaway from her family in Masham, Yorkshire. Anne Taylor speculates that Graham met Caroline when she was working as a high-class prostitute. See Taylor's *The People's Laird: A Life of Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham* ([n.p.]: Tobias Press, 2005), pp. 101–03.
19 See *CGCB*, pp. 143–49.
20 'Mohammed el Fasi': see *Mogreb-el-Acksa*; 'Quixote': *RBCG*, p. 2; 'dandy': *Joseph Conrad's Letters to R. B. Cunninghame Graham*, p. 4.
21 'Bontine' signified ownership of the estate of Ardoch, 'Cunninghame' that of the estate of Finlaystone on the south bank of the Clyde, and 'Graham' that of the estate of Gartmore. The Christian name 'Robert' signified his descent from King Robert II.
22 '*frondeur*': see *Joseph Conrad's Letters to R. B. Cunninghame Graham*, p. 117. As for 'existentialist': see the letter to Edward Garnett (dated 28 January 1899) quoted near the end

of this chapter. In another letter to Garnett (1 March 1899), he says: 'My view of life is almost the same as yours. It is a joke, a black joke of course, but we must laugh at our own efforts' (*RBCG*, p. 33). On 3 March 1899, he tells Garnett: 'Significance in things, Ha, Ha, why even atoms themselves are all in a jumble' (*CGCB*, p. 290).

23 I interviewed Borys several times in 1972, in Poland and at his home in Hindhead.

24 Long Wolf, described in the essay 'Long Wolf' in *Redeemed, and Other Sketches* (London: Heinemann, 1927), pp. 70–81, was buried in Brompton Cemetery in 1892 but eventually re-buried in 1997 at the Wolf Creek Community Cemetery at Pine Ridge in South Dakota. The re-burial had been initiated by Mrs Elizabeth Knight, who had been deeply moved by Graham's account of this Sioux performer in Buffalo Bill's show.

25 Mescaleros: see 'A Hegira' in *Thirteen Stories* (London: Heinemann, 1900). Maoris: 'A Pakeha' in *Thirteen Stories*. Paraguayans: see: *Portrait of a Dictator: Francisco Solano López* (London: Heinemann, 1933).

26 'The Real Equality of the Sexes', first published in *The New Age*, 11 July 1908, p. 207, is reprinted in *Selected Writings of Cunninghame Graham*, pp. 68–72.

27 London: Duckworth, 1910.

28 London: Duckworth, 1912.

29 London: Duckworth, 1902.

30 'Heather Jock' is in *The Ipané* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1899); 'Miss Christian Jean' is in *His People* (London: Duckworth, 1906); the real-life Chatterton appears as 'Betterton' in 'An Idealist' in *Progress* (London: Duckworth, 1905); 'The Impenitent Thief' is in *Success*.

31 Lewis Morris was the 'penniless young artist' whose fortunate meeting with Graham is described in *CGCB*, p. 259.

32 In his earlier years, Graham Greene was an admiring reader of Graham's work. Greene confirmed this in a letter to me dated 6 November 1980. In *Reflections* ([1990] Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), p. 258, Greene recalls Graham's *A Vanished Arcadia*.

33 Antitheism can be discerned in (for example) *Mogreb-el-Acksa*, pp. 132–33, and at the end of '"Bloody Niggers"'. In 'Hippomorphous' in *Brought Forward*, pp. 106–19 (p. 118), Graham remarks that a horse worshipped as a god 'had done no harm to any one on earth […] a thing unusual amongst Gods'.

34 *CGCB*, pp. 290–91.

35 Wilde, 'The Critic as Artist' in *The Works of Oscar Wilde* (London: Spring Books, 1963), p. 889.

36 John Lavery, *The Life of a Painter* (London: Cassell, 1940), p. 92. G. K. Chesterton, *Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson, 1936), p. 269.

37 At the General Election in 2015, the Scottish National Party triumphed, winning fifty-six seats out of fifty-nine. Graham said in 1931: 'Nationalism is the first step to the International goal which every thinking man and woman must place before their eyes. But without Nationalism we cannot have true Internationalism.' (*CGCB*, p. 253).

38 See the discussion in *CGCB*, pp. 209–10. Of course, as Voltaire's *Candide* reminds us, the prejudice against the Jesuit missions is an old one. Graham also knew that Richard F. Burton, in his *Letters from the Battle-Fields of Paraguay* (London: Tinsley, 1870), had reviled the Jesuits' system as a 'theocratic despotism'.

39 D. H. Lawrence, in his review of *Pedro de Valdivia* in *The Calendar*, 3 (January 1927), pp. 322–26, berates Graham for being 'trivial and complacent' in failing to register the

atrocious character of the Conquest, during which Valdivia cut off the hands and noses of two hundred 'rebels'. But in *Bernal Díaz del Castillo* (London: Nash, 1915), p. 48, Graham had complained that Díaz 'tells us nothing of how the Indians looked cut open with the flies buzzing round their intestines'.

40 'Open Letter' to Kropotkin: *Labour Elector*, n.s., 3 (15 February 1890), p. 153; quoted in *CGCB*, p. 89.

41 Letter of 11 December 1919 in *The Life and Letters of Henry Arthur Jones*, ed. Doris Arthur Jones (London: Gollancz, 1930), pp. 303–05.

42 '"Remote and quite unfriended": Graham and Millenarianism', Laurence Davies's keynote lecture, ASLS conference 'Empires and Revolutions: R. B. Cunninghame Graham and Other Scottish Writers on Globalisation and Democracy', Stirling, 3–5 July 2015.

43 See 'Dar El Jinoun' in *Redeemed*, pp. 126–35 (p. 134), and 'Mirage' in *Mirages*, pp. 1–8 (p. 7).

44 For example, in 'Los Indios' in *A Hatchment* (London: Duckworth, 1913), pp. 19–33 (p. 29).

45 Graham said of W. H. Hudson: 'Nothing was more intolerable to Hudson than a Utopia, as it must ever be to all artistic minds. Better the freedom of the wilds, than a society, where there is no folly, sorrow, or no crime […]' (*CGCB*, p. 267).

46 Wilde, 'The Soul of Man under Socialism', in *The Works of Oscar Wilde*, pp. 915–36 (p. 924).

2. The Local and the Global: The Multiple Contexts of Cunninghame Graham

JOHN M. MACKENZIE

If ever a life was conducted within diverse and multiple contexts it was surely that of Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham. These contexts are geographical and environmental, historical and cultural, social and financial, political and literary. This chapter will attempt to touch on all of these, examining some of the themes that seem to emerge from his life, his manifold activities, and his writings. I approach this contextualisation of Graham as a cultural and environmental historian with an interest in empire and in Scotland, as well as, very importantly, the reciprocity between those two. For many years, the epithet 'British' has been central to all discussions of empire since it has long been assumed that empire was essentially the project of the Union of the four nations of the British and Hibernian Isles. Indeed, the original usage of 'empire' precisely referred to the creation of the British state, through the successive unions of England with Wales, Scotland and Ireland.[1] It is now some time since J. G. A. Pocock and others suggested that the history of these islands – which he called the Atlantic archipelago – should be considered in the context of four nations.[2] This notion has been extended into an argument that there may in fact have been four empires, each connected with the different civil societies and cultures of the Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and English.[3] This perfectly fits the career of Graham who was Scottish first and British second. He was fully aware of the effects of empire on the Scottish economy, on the Scottish people, and on Scottish nationalism. As a socialist he was also aware of the ambivalent relationship between socialism and the ideology of imperialism. He lived in an age of empire, was highly critical of imperialism, and yet travelled, explored, and formed his experiences through the freedoms that empire offered.[4]

There can be no doubt that Graham, like all his generation, was brought up in an atmosphere of imperialism, surely the dominant ideology of the

later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He was ultimately to take the brave minority course of turning against it, but as a teenager it was empire that undoubtedly formed his worldview, empire offering access to the global oyster. His family connections all pointed in this direction. Many youths of his social class turned to the officer corps of the army or the navy. Yet Robert, despite being the grandson of an admiral and with other naval and military relations, rejected a life in the services – such as the glamorous Indian cavalry – which constructed and defended that empire. He also rejected the West Indies where his direct ancestor, Robert Graham, known as Doughty Deeds, had paradoxically combined radical politics with plantation and slave ownership, through which some of the family money had been made.[5] He rejected India where his Elphinstone relatives, his mother's uncle and cousin, had played such an important role as governors of Bombay. And in the course of his life he also rejected various ideas for pursuing enterprises in the empire, whether sugar-growing in the West Indies or coffee-growing in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). As it happens, the latter was ill-fated because of coffee rust and soon gave way to tea-growing.

So why did Graham choose South America? Importantly, we should put Argentina and other Latin American countries into the same imperial frame. The phrase 'the imperialism of free trade' was invented in the 1950s, just when the passionately partisan imperial history was breathing its last gasps. From that moment onwards, we began to appreciate that empire was a much bigger thing than formal colonies. It was a set of economic relationships and networks of informal influence stretching from Latin America across the world to the Far East. In economic terms, and therefore in respect of personnel, the effects were essentially the same whether we are dealing with territories of formal rule or those sucked into these imperial processes by informal means. Although we know that while at Harrow he was intrigued by Latin America, where his mother had spent her early years in Venezuela, Lady Polwarth tells us that the key connection for the youthful Robert was the friendship between that extraordinary lady and Blanche, Countess of Airlie, the great grandmother of the present Earl, whose family name is Ogilvy.[6] Robert visited her at Cortachy Castle where she mentioned the fact that Ogilvy cousins were attempting to run an estancia, or cattle-ranch, in

Argentina and helped to fire him with the ambition to join them. Cortachy Castle is an extraordinarily romantic place. It, together with Airlie Castle on the same estate, has striking links to Scotland's turbulent past. Its architecture is Scottish tower house crossed with baronial and a touch of the fantasies of Bavarian equivalents. Graham must have found its location beside the South Esk stunning, and he would also have learned of the connections of the Ogilvys with both the United States and South America.[7] To go to Cortachy is to understand the manner in which the visiting teenager was fired with the ambition to travel to, to ride in, and to explore new environments and cultures that were related to his mother's past. The Airlie estate was also one of the largest in Scotland and was largely unencumbered. It seems reasonable to speculate that the estate would have fired the young Robert's ambition to make money where some people apparently made lots of it and thus save his estates. That was indeed the standard ambition of those who migrated to areas of both formal and informal empire.

But we should also stress that there was nothing particularly strange about his choice of South America. Scots had been going there, as to almost everywhere else, for some considerable time. During the Napoleonic wars, Scottish merchants and others were ejected from Europe and headed for Argentina and other countries. Other Scots followed them. In 1825, for example, a ship called *The Symmetry* left Leith for Argentina with a large party of emigrant Scots.[8] There is indeed some symmetry in the fact that similar movements to South Africa on the other side of the South Atlantic also started in the 1820s.[9] In the course of the century, Scots came to be highly visible in mercantile, banking, and other sectors in the region.[10] Soon they were entirely dominant in railway building and engineering. Scottish doctors virtually took over the world in medical terms, and Graham would encounter at least two of them, Dr Forbes and Dr William Stewart, as well as Stewart's lawyer brother George and later the Witham brothers,[11] all important in looking after him and in giving him ideas for further madcap economic ventures. He also met up with those strange Scots gauchos, still bearing the names of their origins, but sometimes barely capable of speaking English. The telephone book of Buenos Aires, as I discovered on a conference visit there, is still full of Scots names,

including several columns of my own clan, Mackenzie. St Andrew's Church and St Andrew's School remain prominent in the religious and educational life of the city, and there remain a number of Scottish societies to this day.[12] Robert, in other words, was part of a movement, even if his resulting adventures were more extraordinary than those experienced by most migrants. They came to constitute mythic events that framed Graham's life and enhanced his seemingly legendary past.

Graham later fiercely opposed the principles of primogeniture, and we may wonder whether this also came out of his experience of travel in an imperial world. Sir Walter Scott famously remarked in 1821 that 'India is the corn chest for Scotland where we poor gentry must send our younger sons as we send our black cattle to the south'.[13] Younger sons constituted the backbone of the officer corps of the forces and of imperial administrations. They were also to be found desperately trying to make new fortunes to balance those which their eldest brothers would theoretically inherit. It has often been said that Graham's experience of being ultimately chained to indebted and mortgaged estates influenced his view of primogeniture, but he surely encountered many scions of great families, like the Ogilvy brothers whom he joined in Argentina, whose lives were broken, in their case by drink, in their efforts to maintain social position without the wherewithal to support it. He also knew that primogeniture was irrelevant to the vast majority of ordinary people and that its abolition would result in the break-up of estates and the redistribution of wealth. It would additionally have destroyed the system whereby the eldest son, asset-rich and cash-poor – though in his case the assets had been reduced to poverty as well – were expected to support all manner of relatives in the extended family. Thus, his doubts about primogeniture were closely bound up with the rest of his political and international vision. The concept of primogeniture not only kept estates together to maintain the heritable wealth of elite families, but it also constituted a social underpinning of empire. His politics ran counter to both.

Graham was called the champion of lost causes. He himself said that failure was so much more interesting than success. We are reminded of the famous remark Disraeli gives to Mr Mountchesney in his novel *Sybil*: 'I

rather like bad wine, one becomes [in the book it says 'gets' instead of 'becomes'] so bored with good wine.'[14] Graham may have seen the moral and aesthetic virtue in failure, but all writers prefer to portray the bad wine of exciting failure rather than the boring success of good wine. There is an imperial dimension to this, as may be imagined. The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a period of heroic myth-making. Children's literature, popular art, and religious iconography were redolent of the great heroes of the age.[15] Yet the celebrated heroes of that period were either killed at the apparent moment of their success – their failure therefore lying in their inability to keep themselves alive – or they seemed to achieve their consummation of failure in an extraordinarily heroic manner.[16] The first group might include Nelson, killed at the high moment of his success because he himself was foolhardy in his vanity,[17] or Henry Havelock, dying in the 1857 Indian revolt of disease, thus succumbing to Indian climate and environment just as he achieved his heroic Relief of Lucknow. But even more remarkable were David Livingstone, an immensely heroic failure if ever there was one, dying as he desperately and fruitlessly searched for the sources of the Nile in the headwaters of the Congo,[18] or General Charles Gordon, killed as he not only failed to resist the tide of Mahdism in the Sudan, but also initially failed to force the political and military will to retake that great upper Nile region for the empire. Later, Captain Scott became one of the greatest of heroes, failing to be first to the South Pole and then falling victim to nature and extreme cold on the way back. There were plenty of people who can be adjudged successes, sometimes in higher objectives, yet without martyrdom they missed the true pinnacle of heroic myth. T. E. Lawrence, whom Graham knew, was one of these and Lawrence knew it. He was a student of mythic heroism and was powerfully aware of the fact that because he had emerged from the desert alive at the end of the First World War he would never achieve the heroic status he craved, not even through his self-regarding literary achievement of the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1926). That was surely why he proceeded to bury himself as Aircraftman Shaw and ultimately induce a form of suicide on his motor bike.[19] Graham was intrigued by heroism, its antithesis, and its dangers. This infuses his copious writings about conquistadores, Jesuits, and modern Latin American rebels and

dictators. Heroic and the anti-heroic were transparently bound up, simultaneously magnificent and hugely destructive.

Another theme of Graham's life was an obsession with frontiers and with the indigenous people threatened upon them. Frontiers have been described as contact zones between perceptions of civilisation and barbarism, the classic locus of imperial extension.[20] But Graham of course could not see so-called civilisation as conforming to his political, economic, and social standards, and for him 'barbarism' had its positive sense, meaning pre-industrial, closer to nature, lacking in disabling sophistication. He proudly showed visitors over Gartmore, with its tower house and dungeon where Rob Roy had allegedly been incarcerated, and with its military fort. It had a turbulent frontier history, lying on the fractious border between Lowlands and Highlands, and he regarded these themes as being worked out in Scottish history, in attempts at medieval English conquest, in Highland dispossession, violence, and the elite acquisition of vast sporting estates. His time in South America and in Texas was essentially about such frontiers, embracing the very essence of imperial expansion in respect of indigenous people. He brought the same worldview to bear upon his approach to Africa in general, to Morocco in particular, and to so much of his writing. His celebrated Moroccan travel book, witty and romantic, filled with human sympathy, is full of the classic concerns of the age with surviving and vanishing cultures, sympathetically understood within their environmental contexts.[21] It is also full of awareness of the encroachments of 'free trade' and the forms of imperialism that came in its wake. Frontiers helped to generate the racism that he abhorred, as he discovered in Texas. Failure and destructiveness, often on frontiers, were emblematic of heroic imperialism. He also identified an equivalent frontier between what he saw as aesthetically debased industrially produced goods and the aesthetics of arts and crafts. His admiration for William Morris was aesthetic as well as socialist in a period when many developed an interest in Oriental and Islamic crafts as counter-weights to industrial goods.[22] We should certainly avoid the binaries of Edward Said when it comes to aesthetics.[23] Thus, one of Graham's many lost causes was the hope that frontiers could become benign and mutually beneficial rather than malign and murderous.

There were both literal and metaphorical frontiers in Graham's life. He worked on the frontier between the beauties of Scotland and the social ugliness of its industrial heartland. In his maiden speech in the House of Commons, he referred both to the great gulf between rich and poor and to events in Burma (Myanmar), linking imperial and social frontiers.[24] In his notorious Bloody Sunday exploits in Trafalgar Square, he faced the metropolitan police commissioner, Sir Charles Warren. Would he have been aware of the fact that Warren had spent key years in South Africa, deciding on the frontier between Griqualand West and the Orange Free State, making sure that the diamonds ended up in British territory, that he had been involved in the Transkei war of 1877 to 1878, a frontier war if ever there was one, that he had investigated the 'native questions' in Bechuanaland (Botswana), and had been administrator of Griqualand West? As recently as 1884 he had led an expedition, asserting British rights in Bechuanaland against incursions of Germans and Afrikaners, seeing off the maverick Boer states of Stellaland and Goschen. Thus, Warren's experience of empire was brought to bear upon the social discontents of Britain, and he probably saw little difference between the working classes, rebellious Africans, and recalcitrant Boers.[25] Graham faced another translation of imperial frontier to the streets of the United Kingdom.

There is a further imperial echo in Graham's views of the natural world. This lies in his attitude towards animals and his opposition to the protection of elite hunting through game laws. The extension of imperial rule is closely bound up with the human relationship with animals.[26] Mobility is the vital condition of the creation of empires; and such mobility for humans, for data collection and information transmission, as well as the transport of goods, has been supplied throughout millennia by the horse – the animal so close to Graham – and also by the elephant, the camel, the yak, and the llama. Most empires were entirely dependent on them. Moreover, the hunting of animals, with all its related political, cultural, and environmental resonances, has been vital in the establishment of imperial authority. Imperial elites from ancient to modern times have hunted and have thus indulged in ritualised display, the deployment of human auxiliaries, the promulgation of environmental and sumptuary laws, demonstrating in highly visual form

their command of the regions where they claimed sway. Hunting has also been seen as the image of, and training for, war.

This was never more true than in Britain's empire, where long-standing domestic hunting restrictions were transferred to a global canvas. Africa was conquered on the backs of its animals, not in this case as riding or draught creatures, which insects and disease prevented, but through the supply of economic resources like ivory and horn, and above all the protein supplement of never-ending supplies of meat. It was only in the 1890s that Europeans began to develop a conscience about this, induced by the knowledge that hunting passions and modern firearms were leading to extinctions. Conservation bodies were founded and anxieties extended to millinery and the use of feathers. Graham was caught up in this, yet another of his radical causes, and frequently campaigned in favour of conservation and what we now call animal rights. His example was the near-extermination of the beaver. It explains his highly ambivalent attitude to firearms, to bull fighting, to the use of animals in entertainment and displays, and perhaps also to hunting as a marker of an aristocratic and bourgeois elite in Britain. His sensitivity to animals is also exemplified in his mourning for his favourite black horse, Pampa, saved by him from hauling Glasgow trams, commemorated on the memorial stone now to be seen in Gartmore. His attitude was surely influenced by the fact that Gartmore was not a conventional agricultural estate since it included Flanders Moss, with its prolific bird and other wildlife.

The Gartmore estate is a reminder of Graham's dreadful travails with debt, with the expensive need for drainage (which would have resulted in the reduction of habitat for the very wildlife I have just mentioned), and with the agricultural depression of the period. This depression also had its imperial dimensions. While part of a wider currency and price recession, as well as some rise in protectionism, agricultural depression was compounded by the growing ease of transportation, the importation of cheaper grain crops from the great prairies of Canada and the USA, as well as the appearance of vast imports of frozen meat. The first consignment of frozen lamb from New Zealand appeared in Britain in 1882, as seems inevitable, on a ship captained by a Scot, soon followed by beef from across the

Atlantic. Ships, so often crewed by Scots, did indeed loom large in Graham's life, as he sailed back and forth to South and Central America as well as the southern USA. Later in life he also wintered overseas. Such ships helped to produce this distinctly unhappy time for Scottish farmers and estate owners who faced bleak prospects in the collection of rents. Indeed, many agricultural workers and other rural people emigrated at this time. Yet the Gartmore tenantry raised the money for an impressive silver salver to be presented to the Grahams when the emotional departure took place in November of 1900. The *Glasgow Herald* reported the warm speeches and declarations by the villagers of how much they would miss Graham riding up and down the village street on his black horse.[27]

As is readily apparent, Graham's life was filled with ironies and not the least of these was his sale of Gartmore to a shipowner in 1900. Sir Charles Cayzer was a Tory baronet of the sort that Graham must have abhorred. By chance, following my retirement, I became acquainted with the late Sir James Cayzer, the Gartmore purchaser's grandson. His estate and Kinpurnie Castle are close to my home, and I learned from him something of the family history, of the great fortune made in shipping, including the Clan Line, of the purchase of Gartmore and other estates – he showed me a print of Gartmore on the wall of a corridor – of the suicide of his father, the second baronet, Sir Charles Cayzer, when he was suspected of being a German sympathiser at the opening of the Second World War, and of the progressive loss of the estates apart from Kinpurnie. The Cayzer family remained rich until some foolish investments forced the sale of the estate. Shades of the Graham family there. There is another connection, too. Sir James's aunt was married to Admiral Jellicoe, and Graham's nephew and heir, Admiral Sir Angus Cunninghame Graham, who sonorously called himself 'of Gartmore and Ardoch', served under Jellicoe at Jutland. He was later at the South Africa station and in China. Sir Angus became Lord Lieutenant of Dunbartonshire, a member of the Company of Archers, and Vice-President of the National Trust for Scotland, taking Establishment roles which his uncle shunned.

And that brings me to Graham's anti-imperialism, which Sir Angus presumably did not share since his professional life was dedicated to its

defence. Graham's radicalism came from his forebears and also from his remarkable mother. Her vigorous and outspoken opposition to the Scramble for Africa, prosecuted by 'swindlers and murderers', is intriguing, and her views were shared by Graham, who dubbed Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) as 'Fraudesia' since the great Cecil Rhodes fortune that spawned it was undoubtedly created through all sorts of capitalist jiggery-pokery that we would certainly regard as fraudulent today.[28] Contemporaries regarded Rhodes as another great imperial hero, with multiple memorials, statues, and biographies. But his reputation also rapidly shaded into anti-heroism, even villainy, and his statue was in 2015 cast down at the University of Cape Town after protests from students.[29] Graham might have enjoyed that. Fraudesia was indeed a great cause for the anti-imperial heroes of Graham's day, for anti-capitalists, for the missionary Exeter Hall faction, even for archaeologists asserting the African provenance of Great Zimbabwe and other ruins.

All this has to be set into a broader consideration of anti-imperialism. Graham perceptively noticed the pronounced jingoism of the music hall, a subject which the liberal economist J. A. Hobson wrote about in his book *The Psychology of Jingoism* of 1901.[30] It was surely that very music-hall jingoism, which also infused so many other areas of entertainment and visual forms in British culture, that helped to spread the imperial ideology among the working classes as well as the bourgeoisie. Popular imperialism, fomented by a largely imperial press, was a powerful phenomenon throughout Graham's lifetime and showed little signs of abating at the time of his death, not least because of the immense re-energising it received from the cinema and from interwar international exhibitions at Wembley in 1924–25 and in Glasgow in 1938. Perhaps its potency ensured that the Left found it difficult to be truly anti-imperial. Anti-imperialism broke up into a series of factions. Only a minority were genuinely anti-imperial as Graham was. Others, like Ramsay MacDonald and even at times Graham's friend Keir Hardie, both of whom travelled extensively to India and elsewhere, looked to an ethical imperialism to spread the benefits of, at least potential, British socialist developments around the world.[31] Nevertheless, their views were still very different from those of

most politicians of the day. H. M. Hyndman, another Graham associate, started out as pro-imperial, and the Fabians (including Bernard Shaw) took up a similar position, at least for a season, and for parallel reasons.[32] Only friends like Wilfrid Scawen Blunt tended to be uncompromising, attacking worthless expenditure in Africa, or the wave of cross-party jingoism that swept the country at the time of the Anglo–Boer War.[33]

This leads us to the imperial element which certainly infused Scottish nationalism in Graham's day. Like the Left, Scottish nationalists were unsure of which way to jump, and some did remain anti-imperial. But significant elements in the party decided it was in their interests to espouse empire in order to point to the global role of the Scots. The classic example here is Andrew Dewar Gibb, a professor of law who in a series of books in the inter-war years insisted that the Scottish nation had a right to a state not least because Scots played such a world-wide role through empire, both formal and informal.[34] The explanation for this strikes me as arising from Scotland's position as a small nation in bed with an elephant, the English.[35] This has led Scotland throughout its history to search for an anti-English counterpoise. After Bannockburn, Robert the Bruce and his brother Edward thought such a counterpoise might lie in Ireland, through an alignment with the Celtic princes in opposition to Norman power. The Auld Alliance with France was another route to outflanking the English through external diplomacy. In the plantations in Ulster, in their interloping in trade, and in their efforts to settle in Central America, the West Indies, and the Thirteen Colonies, Scots continued to struggle to escape the English stranglehold, even after their own Stuart dynasty ascended the English throne. Then, particularly after 1707, the Empire came to constitute the same opportunity. Scots migrated everywhere; they were prominent in many of the economic sectors of empire; and they prided themselves on carving out a distinctive imperial role in which elements of their civil society and significant ideas from the Enlightenment could be spread world-wide. Indeed, Graham's relative Mountstuart Elphinstone was important precisely in this area.[36] They might also have pointed to the fact that one of the great liberators of South America from the Spanish and Portuguese imperial grasp was none other than Admiral Thomas Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald.[37] He shared so

much with Graham: a radical landowner who was ejected from parliament, dismissed from the navy for alleged fraud, he proceeded to become a South American and European hero through his activities in the liberation of Chile, Brazil, and later Greece. Many streets in Chile are called Cochrane, the Chilean navy has an annual service in his honour, and an exhibition in the National Museum of Scotland has hailed him as a great Scottish hero. Figures like him and the major hero of African exploration, David Livingstone, led Scots to give themselves the conceit of imagining that they bore a vital role in the world that belied their relatively small numbers, a significance that meant that they should arise from being submerged in the shadow of England and restore their own national pride. Yet it has been suggested that it was only with the end of empire, and the benefits and also economic distortions that the Scots had derived from it, both in settlement and in economic activity, that Scottish nationalism could truly flourish. This was the contention of another radical, Tom Nairn.[38] There has been an attempt to refute this simple linkage, but some may continue to find it an attractive conjunction.[39] In any case, it does not controvert the counterpoise thesis. As I will suggest later on, the modern counterpoise is the European Union.

It is a fascinating fact that Graham, so celebrated through five decades as a result of press reports, his copious writings and speeches, and his frequent images in portraits, cartoons, and photography, so well-connected to some of the great cultural and political figures of the age, should have become so little known in modern times. I decided to test this. Tom Devine, perhaps the most significant of modern Scottish historians, makes only one reference to him in his work, *The Scottish Nation 1700–2000,* and that in relation to the formation of the Independent Labour Party.[40] Devine and Finlay's edited book *Scotland in the Twentieth Century* has no reference to him at all.[41] Even more extraordinarily, Christopher Harvie's *Scotland and Nationalism* has only one passing reference to him, mistakenly supplying his name with a hyphen and providing him with an incorrect initial.[42] Even Bernard Porter's *Critics of Empire* mentions Graham only once, and that is in a footnote.[43] Moreover, I have never been able to find references to Graham's historical or biographical work in any of the modern anglophone

histories of Latin America. No wonder then that in the summer of 2010, David Harvie, writing in the *Scottish Review*, lamented the fact that Graham, whom he eulogistically described as 'a stalwart hero and intellectual nonpareil', remained neglected, largely forgotten, and unknown to most people.[44] Describing modern celebrity status in a felicitous phrase as a 'fakery of froth', he expressed outrage that John Lavery's portrait of Graham had not appeared in the Glasgow Boys' exhibition at Glasgow's Kelvingrove Art Gallery in 2010, despite the fact that it is owned by its collection, was not on display elsewhere in the gallery, and no postcard was available of it. Even more extraordinarily, the Lavery portrait *did* appear when the exhibition moved to the Royal Academy in London.

This set me thinking. The National Portrait Gallery in London contains not only the great Epstein head of Graham, but also no fewer than eight portraits, in various media, including the major one by James McBey, while we may note that the fine Rothenstein portrait in fencing dress is in exile in the Dunedin Art Gallery in Otago, New Zealand, a place with a relatively slight connection with Graham, apart perhaps from having originally been a Scots colony. As well as the magnificent Lavery, Glasgow's Kelvingrove Art Gallery also possesses the portrait by John Crealock and the Lavery of Graham's wife. But the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh has very little, although it does possess one bust of him. (They do, however, have a portrait of his great-grandfather, 'Doughty Deeds' Robert, which has a caption announcing that his fortune was made in Jamaica.) But I did wonder if it is thought that his profile is higher in England because of all his political activities there? Or is it because Graham's greatest creation was indeed himself, that there was an element of the 'fakery of froth' about him? Yet the University of Edinburgh did institute a Cunninghame Graham lecture in 1996, and the first one was delivered by the great historian of Spain Sir John Elliott, on the golden age of Spanish art, but this named lecture seems to have slipped into obscurity, as with so many other things associated with Graham.[45] Yet he still has some profile in Argentina with a bust at the Hudson museum and celebrations of his birth by the Scottish–Argentine society, with pipes, drums, kilts, and dancing. And there is of course the Cunninghame Graham society.

It is interesting to speculate in conclusion about the ways in which Graham might have reacted to some events since his death, such as decolonisation, neocolonialism, and the modern empires of the USA, Russia, and China. He might have been shocked that the Scots gave the Tories a majority of votes and Commons seats in the election of 1955, but would have been reassured by more recent voting habits. He would surely have supported the opposition of miners, other workers, and Scottish poll-tax payers to Margaret Thatcher, and he might have repeated his speech made in 1887, reported in *The Glasgow Herald*, that 'God should free England from the Tory tyrants, the hired police braves and a servile press'. While he would have enjoyed the irony that opposition to Thatcher in Scotland probably made her the midwife of modern Scottish nationalism, he would certainly have been appalled by the Falklands or Malvinas War, fought against his own Argentina after Thatcher had seemed to give signals to that country's dictatorship that Britain was no longer interested in the South Atlantic. Though disappointed, no doubt, by the referendum result of 2014, he would have been pleased by the success of the SNP in the election of 2015. And he would certainly have been delighted by the Scottish version of the Venezuelan musical experiment *El Sistema,* providing instruments for young people from socially deprived areas. *El Sistema* has been translated into 'Big Noise' and has been a major influence in connecting Graham's own Stirlingshire area to South America. Finally, it may be said that there are few people in modern times who match Graham's extraordinary combination of ancient family, radicalism, style, panache, and street oratory, but perhaps even he would have been impressed by the late Tam Dalyell of the Binns, who constantly baited Thatcher, and the title of whose autobiography *The Importance of Being Awkward,* provides a literary allusion he would have enjoyed. And he would surely have supported the late Jimmy Reid in his efforts to lead opposition to the destruction of shipbuilding on the Clyde. The spirit of Graham can still be found in a few figures in our national life.

Notes

1 David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Chapter 1, pp. 1–23.

2 J. G. A. Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject', *Journal of New Zealand History*, 47.4 (1974), pp. 601–21 (repr. in Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapter 2, pp. 24–43. Also Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

3 John M. MacKenzie, 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? A Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire', *History Compass*, 6.5 (2008), pp. 1244–63, Wiley On-Line, www.history-compass.com. John M. MacKenzie, 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? The Historiography of a Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire', in *Race, Nation and Empire: Making Histories 1750 to the Present*, ed. Catherine Hall and Keith McClelland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 133–53. In the particular case of Scotland, see *Scotland and the British Empire*, ed. John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

4 The incidents of Graham's life come from Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies, *Cunninghame Graham: A Critical Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) and from Jean Cunninghame Graham (Lady Polwarth), *Gaucho Laird: The Life of R. B. Cunninghame Graham – 'Don Roberto'* ([N.p.] [Glasgow, KY]: Long Riders' Guild Press, [n.d.] [2004/2005]).

5 Robert Cunninghame Graham, the great-grandfather, was in Jamaica in the 1750s and 1760s, apparently associated with plantations called Roaring River and Lucky Hill. He was MP for Stirlingshire from 1793 to 1796. He left Jamaica long before he would have benefited from the generous compensation paid out after the emancipation of the slaves. See the UCL Legacies of Slave Ownership website: www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/.

6 Jean Cunninghame Graham, *Gaucho Laird*, pp. 72–73.

7 This is based on personal knowledge of the estate and its castles.

8 *From Caledonia to the Pampas: Two Accounts by Early Scottish Emigrants to the Argentine*, ed. Iain A. D. Stewart (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000).

9 John M. MacKenzie, with Nigel R. Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa: Ethnicity, Identity, Gender and Race, 1772–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

10 David Rock, 'The British in Argentina', in *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*, ed. Robert Bickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 18–44. Also private information from Latin American historians.

11 Jean Cunninghame Graham, *Gaucho Laird*, pp. 82, 98–99, 101–02, 106, 108, 119–24, 129, 131–34, 174, 185.

12 These include the Buenos Aires Country Dance Society, the St Andrew's Society of the River Plate, the Highland Heritage Society, and the South American Piping Society, Argentina. Several of them meet in the Presbyterian Church in Buenos Aires.

13 Walter Scott had many connections with India through relatives and friends and nearly went there himself. His novel *The Surgeon's Daughter* is set in India. This story was the last in the first series of *Chronicles of the Canongate* (first publ. in Edinburgh in 1827; repr. London: Penguin, 2003).

14 Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil; or, The Two Nations* (1845; repr. London: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 3.

15 John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).
16 John M. MacKenzie, 'Heroic Myths of Empire', in *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850–1950*, ed. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 109–38; *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*, ed. Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Berny Sèbe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa: The Promotion of British and French Colonial Heroes, 1870–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); *Decolonising Imperial Heroes*, special issue of the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 42.5 (December 2014).
17 *Admiral Lord Nelson: Context and Legacy*, ed. David Cannadine (London: Palgrave, 2005).
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19 John M. MacKenzie, 'T. E. Lawrence: The Myth and the Message', in *Literature and Imperialism*, ed. Robert Giddings (London: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 150–81; T. E. Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1927; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962).
20 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).
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23 This is the argument of my *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
24 In his speech he was referring to the third Anglo–Burmese war of 1885 when the British conquered Upper Burma and overthrew the last emperor Thebaw from his capital in Mandalay.
25 For the full career of Sir Charles Warren, see Keith Surridge, 'Warren, Sir Charles (1840–1927)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online ed. May 2006, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36753.
26 John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).
27 'Farewell to Gartmore', *Glasgow Herald*, 22 November 1900, p. 11, column 4.
28 Watts and Davies, *Cunninghame Graham*, pp. 113, 257.
29 'Cheers and Protests as University of Cape Town Removes Cecil Rhodes Statue', *The Guardian*, 9 April 2015, www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/09/university-cape-town-removes-statue-cecil-rhodes-celebration-afrikaner-protest.
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31 James Keir Hardie, *India: Impressions and Suggestions* (London: ILP, 1909); James Ramsay MacDonald, *The Awakening of India* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910), and *Labour and the Empire* (London: George Allen, 1907; repr. with a new introduction by Peter Cain, London: Routledge, 1998).

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34 Andrew Dewar Gibb, *Scotland in Eclipse* (London: Humphrey Toulmin, 1930), *Scottish Empire* (London: Alexander Maclehose, 1937), *Scotland Resurgent* (Stirling: Eneas MacKay, 1950). Although Gibb was an exceptionally distinguished commentator on international law, the relative obscurity of his publishers may indicate difficulty in publishing these books.
35 John M. MacKenzie, 'On Scotland and the Empire', *International History Review,* 15 (1993), 714–39; MacKenzie, 'Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland', *Proceedings of the Royal Historical Society,* 6th ser., 8 (1998), 215–31.
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37 The Scottish National Museum exhibition on Thomas Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald, was displayed in 2011–12, that on David Livingstone in 2013.
38 Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (London: New Left Books, 1977).
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41 *Scotland in the Twentieth Century*, ed. T. M. Devine and R. J. Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996).
42 Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707–1994* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1977), p. 18. Harvie additionally failed to mention Graham in *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes: Scotland 1914–1980* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981).
43 Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire: British Radical Attitudes to Colonialism in Africa, 1895–1914* (London: Macmillan, 1968), p. 100, albeit one in which Porter declares that 'Hyndman and R. B. Cunninghame Graham were especially prolific on African and Indian matters'.
44 David Harvie, 'Without Honour', *Scottish Review*, 11 August 2010, scottishreview.net/DavidHarvie6.shtml.
45 But the lecture given by Sir John had nothing to do with Graham himself. Private information.

3. Anti-Slavery Discourse in Three Adventure Stories by R. M. Ballantyne

JOCHEN PETZOLD

The relationship between imperialism and popular culture in general, and children's literature in particular, has often been noted. For example, Martin Green argues that 'the adventure tales that formed the light reading of Englishmen for two hundred years and more after *Robinson Crusoe* were, in fact, the energizing myth of English imperialism', and Patrick Dunae points out that 'every Christmas hundreds of juvenile adventure novels appeared, novels that romanticized and glorified the exploits of British empire builders'.[1] An interesting case in point is provided by the Scotsman Robert Michael Ballantyne (1825–1894), who started his writing career in 1848 and who published some eighty books, most of them adventure stories aimed at boys in their teens. Ballantyne was not only prolific but also very popular. When Robert Louis Stevenson published *Treasure Island* in 1883, he could refer to 'Ballantyne the brave' as a kind of household name for adventure stories, and in a survey conducted in the 1880s among boys between the ages of eleven and nineteen, Ballantyne ranks sixth on their list of favourite authors.[2] After Ballantyne's death, a fund-raising drive was started amongst the boys of Harrow School to 'raise money to erect a monument to the memory of their dead hero', and Ballantyne's biographer points out that '[b]efore the end of the year over six hundred pounds had been subscribed, mostly in pennies and sixpences from the thousands of boys to whom his books had given so much pleasure'.[3] Importantly, it was a pleasure many parents felt their children could enjoy: Charlotte Yonge declared in *What Books to Lend and What to Give* (1887) that 'Mr. Ballantyne's tales of adventure are perfectly safe from the moral point of view, and always have a religious tone'.[4]

Ballantyne started writing well before Britain entered the phase of new imperialism in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and Dunae argues

that 'the spirit of empire was subdued' in his novels, only 'provid[ing] a dramatic background for adventure'.[5] Admittedly, most of Ballantyne's novels are not directly concerned with the expansion of the British Empire, since many are set either in Britain, in areas already colonised by Britain (like Canada or the former colony USA), or in areas that were not of colonial interest to Britain (like South America). However, many of his tales appropriate exotic locations as a space in which the British heroes can prove themselves. Furthermore, the European presence in these areas is often a topic, particularly with regard to missionary activity. As Stuart Hannabus points out, Ballantyne was supportive both of the British Empire – which he saw as a promise to the 'natives' to govern them better than they could themselves – and particularly of Christianisation; the latter point is also stressed by Christopher Parker, who declares that 'Christianity and prosperity always go hand in hand in Ballantyne's world'.[6]

Thus, while Ballantyne may not have written much about the active expansion of the British Empire, he frequently depicts encounters between British characters and 'natives', encounters that are marked by colonial discourse. Ballantyne was clearly not one of the most jingoistic writers of empire, but neither was he an emancipatory radical who granted 'native' characters fictional equality. Rather, he tended to treat them as children, and this paternalistic stance also informs his treatment of slavery. In the following, I examine how Ballantyne dealt with the issue of slavery in three of his novels, *The Red Eric* and *The Gorilla Hunters*, both published in 1861, and *Black Ivory*, published in 1873. I will show that the first two texts are not primarily concerned with the abolition of slavery – although they do denounce it – whereas *Black Ivory* is deeply engaged in the abolitionist cause. Furthermore, I will show that, despite Ballantyne's rejection of slavery, the politics of all three novels are not as straightforward as it may look at first sight, particularly when it comes to the issue of liberating black slaves.

It is unclear what exactly may have prompted Ballantyne to include the topic of slavery in *The Red Eric*, but it clearly had been a publicly debated issue for decades.[7] The Slave Trade Act of 1807 had made the slave trade illegal in the British Empire, but not slavery as such; this only happened

with the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833.[8] But these measures only affected the British colonies and hence the abolitionists shifted their attention to those countries that maintained slavery. Consequently, the topic of slavery remained a public issue and in the decade before Ballantyne published *The Red Eric*, the *Times* had regularly printed articles that dealt with the slave trade and its suppression. A search in *The Times Digital Archive* reveals a marked increase in the number of articles that contain the phrase 'slave trade' in the late 1850s, and it would seem that the topic was in the air at the time Ballantyne was writing *The Red Eric*.[9] Furthermore, the novel is partially set in Africa, which at the time would have been strongly associated with slavery and the slave trade. Hence, the inclusion of slavery as a topic may well have seemed natural to Ballantyne when he wrote *The Red Eric*, although it is only a minor issue in the novel. The captain of the whaler *Red Eric* stops on the coast of West Africa to re-supply, and he wants to find a new crewman as a substitute for a man taken ill. A party is sent ashore, and a Portuguese slave trader suggests selling them a slave as crewman. The Englishmen decline the offer, but there is little they can do against the practice of slavery in this text – except denounce it in rather strong terms. The only satisfaction Ballantyne awards his protagonists is to see the slaver, 'an ill-favoured Portuguese, clad in white duck', fall into a river, coming out 'a worse-favoured monstrosity, clad in mud' – a rather weak form of poetic justice considering that slavery is dubbed the worst of 'all the iniquities that draw forth the groans of humanity on this sad earth'.[10] However, while the protagonists cannot stop the slaver, Ballantyne suggests that the British naval presence has at least some success in suppressing the slave trade, since the slaver is captured by a British cruiser later in the story.

Although Ballantyne's narrator does not comment on the presence of this cruiser, by introducing it the text indirectly takes part in a long-standing debate on attempts to suppress the transatlantic slave trade. After the passing of the Slave Trade Act in 1807, the British government had sent out two ships to enforce this prohibition, hence establishing the African Squadron (sometimes also called West African Squadron) that would later be expanded to more than thirty ships. While this involvement of the navy was initially popular, it came under increasing criticism in the 1840s.[11] The main

objections were that the use of force to suppress the slave trade was very expensive, lacked legal foundation, and, most problematically, was not only ineffective but actually worsened the fate of slaves. For example, the navy surgeon Dr Alexander Bryson reported to the Lords of the Admiralty that 'since the increase of the squadron, and other measures, whole cargoes of slaves had been so long detained on the coast that the provisions became exhausted, and they were left to die of starvation or disease'.[12] William Hutt, MP for Gateshead, was one of the severest critics of the African Squadron, and in March of 1850 he put forward a motion that would have led to its dismantling. However, the motion was rejected by a majority of seventy-eight, and the West African Squadron continued to patrol the coast of Africa.[13]

By the time Ballantyne was writing *The Red Eric*, criticism of the African Squadron had somewhat abated, but it is interesting that Ballantyne's depiction of the British effort to suppress the slave trade is not a wholehearted endorsement of the African Squadron. In capturing the slaver, the British ship is effective, but the text does not present this as a decisive blow. Rather, it remains sceptical towards the overall efficiency of suppressing the slave trade, as the following conversation between the captain and his friend Glynn shows:

> 'So, so,' exclaimed the captain, taking the glass and examining the other vessels. 'I see it's all up with the slaver. Serves him right; don't it, Glynn?'
>
> 'It does,' replied Glynn emphatically. 'I hope they will all be hanged. Isn't that the usual way of serving these fellows out?'
>
> 'Well, not exactly, lad. They don't go quite that length – more's the pity; if they did, there would be less slave-trading; but the rascals will lose both ship and cargo.'
>
> 'I wonder,' said Glynn, 'how they can afford to carry on the trade when they lose so many ships as I am told they do every year.'
>
> 'You wouldn't wonder, boy, if you knew the enormous prices got for slaves. Why, the profits on one cargo, safely delivered, will more than cover the loss of several vessels and cargoes. You may depend on't they would not carry it on if it did not pay.' (pp. 207–08)

The topic is dropped at this point, and neither narrator nor any of the characters make further comments on the issue. As it stands, the message of *The Red Eric* with regard to slavery is somewhat inconclusive: slavery and the slave trade are expressly condemned, and Ballantyne clearly depicts the Portuguese slavers as extremely unsympathetic characters. The death penalty for slave dealers is suggested as a possible solution by Captain Dunning and Glynn, but this suggestion is not repeated by the narrator or otherwise reinforced as a serious political demand. And the statement that the slave trade will go on as long as it pays suggests that the solution to the problem does not rest on the supply side of the equation, but with the demand in slave-holding economies, a claim often made by critics of the African Squadron.

The inclusion of slavery as a topic in *The Gorilla Hunters* is more easily explained: Early in 1861 the Franco-American explorer Paul Du Chaillu had come to London, bringing a large collection of gorilla bones and skins. His popular lectures and the immense success of his travel account *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, published in May of 1861, had inspired a veritable 'gorilla mania' and had prompted the publisher T. Nelson to commission Ballantyne to write a children's book on the subject of gorillas.[14] It is the first of Ballantyne's books to be set almost exclusively on the African continent, and he relied heavily on Du Chaillu, not only for the descriptions of the great apes, but also for various anecdotes about Africans and many incidents he incorporated into the adventure plot. Reading *Explorations and Adventures*, Ballantyne would have come across Du Chaillu's descriptions of the practice of domestic slavery common in equatorial Africa, and of how the foreign slave trade was being carried out.[15] Hence it is not surprising that slavery should be a topic in *The Gorilla Hunters* – although, as I will show, Ballantyne clearly adapted Du Chaillu's report, considerably altering its political implications.

Writing under significant time pressure, Ballantyne not only used *Explorations and Adventures* to an extent that would now be called plagiarism,[16] but he also re-introduced Jack, Ralph, and Peterkin, the three heroes from his popular *Coral Island* (1858),[17] and re-used a plot device from this novel, the rescue of a damsel in distress. This time, the damsel is called

Okandaga, and has to be rescued twice: the heroes first have to help her escape from her village, where she is wrongly accused of witchcraft, and later they rescue her from a Portuguese slaver. When Ralph, Jack, and Peterkin meet this man during their hunting trip, he is not immediately recognisable as a villain; rather, he is described as 'a splendid-looking man […] with handsome figure and a free, offhand gait'.[18] The three white men take him for an honest trader, and it is their native guide Makarooroo who enlightens them of his true nature – but only after they parted company: 'Dat rascal! dat tief! him's no trader; him's slabe dealer; […] Hims go for attack village, an' take all peepils away for be slabes. No pay for 'em – tief! – take dem by force.' (p. 152).

Makarooroo's exclamation is interesting, as it suggests that he is not against the practice of slavery as such; rather, he accuses the Portuguese dealer of theft, of taking slaves by force rather than buying them. Indeed, Ballantyne must have read in Du Chaillu's *Explorations and Adventures* that domestic slavery was an established practice in equatorial Africa, which explains Makarooroo's outburst. However, Ballantyne would also have read that the export of slaves was mainly carried out by African chiefs who sold alleged or real criminals into slavery, making the raiding party described in *Gorilla Hunters* an unlikely occurrence.[19] Indeed, there is no indication in Du Chaillu's text of European slave traders actually travelling inland, and it seems implausible that this would have been an established practice at the time. Of course, *Gorilla Hunters* is a work of fiction and Ballantyne was under no obligation to follow Du Chaillu's account. Yet, given his general indebtedness to *Explorations and Adventures*, it is noteworthy that Ballantyne departed from this text in his depiction of slavery. As in his previous novel, *The Red Eric*, Ballantyne obviously wanted a Portuguese slaver as the main culprit, a decision that has two implications. On the one hand, Ballantyne downplays the involvement of Africans in the slave trade, presenting them as victims rather than perpetrators or at least accessories in the (moral) crime of enslaving their brethren. In this context, it is also significant that Ballantyne does not refer to the practice of domestic slavery at all: when Okandaga is accused of witchcraft, she is condemned to death rather than sold into slavery, which, according to Du Chaillu, was the more common

practice (pp. 94, 143). On the other hand, Ballantyne blames Portuguese slavers and by implication the Portuguese government, and hence a European and Christian country that should condemn slavery, not condone it.

However, if it is Ballantyne's intention to criticise the Portuguese – and, by implication, other European nations that had not yet outlawed slavery or the slave trade – he sends a mixed message of how white, Christian people should react to slavery, since the intervention of the three heroes is not based on a fundamental stance against slavery, but on the laws of hospitality – and a guilty conscience. When he learns the truth about the Portuguese slaver, Jack declares:

> 'We must bid adieu to the gorillas at once, and dog the steps of this marauding party, so as to prevent our good friends Mbango and Jambai being surprised and carried into slavery along with all their people. […] Even if we were not bound in honour to succour those who have treated us hospitably, we ought to do our best to undo the evil we have done in telling their enemies so much about them. Besides, we must save Okandaga, whatever happens.' (p. 154)

In this context it is significant that the slave trader does not look the part (as he did in *The Red Eric*); in *The Gorilla Hunters*, Ballantyne needed him to look respectable so that his young heroes could inadvertently tell him more than they should. Indeed, Jack's exclamation makes it clear that he is afraid of having betrayed his friends, but the choice of words is revealing: 'prevent our good friends […] being surprised and carried into slavery along with all their people' suggests that the enslavement of 'all their people' is not really a problem for Jack, and there is no indication that the white men would have become involved without this sense of personal moral obligation.

Taken together, Ballantyne's two books from 1861 leave one somewhat puzzled with regard to their politics regarding slavery. It is safe to assume that Ballantyne did not condone slavery or the slave trade, but his two novels show that he had not as yet investigated the issue. While he denounces slavery as cruel in *The Red Eric*, he does not use the text to preach to his

young readers that more should be done to prevent it. Indeed, the text seems to question if anything *can* be done to prevent it. In the case of *The Gorilla Hunters*, Ballantyne could even be accused of misrepresenting the situation by blaming a Portuguese slaver rather than native chiefs, and of reducing the topic to a mere plot device that only concerns the three white heroes because it involves people they have befriended.

Both *The Red Eric* and *The Gorilla Hunters* deal with slavery and the slave trade on the west coast of Africa; had Ballantyne published these adventure tales a few years later, he would probably not have included the topic of slavery at all, since the trans-Atlantic slave trade all but ended in the early 1860s, as Christopher Lloyd points out:

> At the beginning of 1861 the Cuban–American trade was flourishing exceedingly; by the middle of the next year American smuggling was at an end; and by the end of it the Cuban trade was in such a state of decline that it soon ceased altogether.[20]

Consequently, the focus of British abolitionists shifted from the west coast to the east coast of Africa, from the trans-Atlantic slave trade to the Arab slave trade. As Quayle points out, Ballantyne had read the report of an anti-slavery meeting held in Leeds in November 1872. At this meeting, the former missionary Reverend Charles New had described the horrors of the slave trade, suggesting 'that the people of England had only to be informed of these dreadful atrocities to excite the deepest sympathy and rouse amongst Englishmen a determination to put an end to the accursed traffic'.[21] The report must have made a deep impression on Ballantyne, since he wrote a letter to the Reverend Dr Vincent Ryan, former Bishop of Mauritius, who had also spoken at the meeting, asking him to 'point out what [he] consider[ed] the best sources for obtaining detailed information on the subject of East African slavery', and indicating that he, Ballantyne, contemplated 'devoting [his] next Christmas tale for young people to the exposition of this subject'.[22] Indeed, Ballantyne did write extensively 'on the subject of East African slavery' in *Black Ivory* (1873). The protagonists of the novel are Harold, the son of a prosperous merchant, and the seaman Disco. Both

survive a shipwreck on the east coast of Africa and then decide to explore the country. During their travels they have numerous encounters with slave dealers and groups of enslaved Africans being driven towards the coast, and Ballantyne had clearly read up on the subject.

Indeed, he states in the preface that he wrote the book with the intention 'to give a true picture in outline of the Slave-Trade as it exists at the present time on the east coast of Africa'.[23] He expressly thanks the Reverends Dr Ryan and New for 'kindly furnishing me with information in connexion with the slave-trade' (p. iv), and he points to additional sources in a number of footnotes throughout the novel. On the basis of these sources, Ballantyne provides detailed information on the huge profits to be made in the slave trade, and on the immense extent of it:

> In the interior each man cost him [Yoosoof, an Arab slave dealer] about four yards of cotton cloth, worth a few pence; […]. On the coast these would sell at from £8 to £12 each, and in Arabia at from £20 to £40. […] It is certainly within the mark to say that at least thirty thousand natives are annually carried away as slaves from the east coast of Africa. […] Dr. Livingstone tells us that, on the average, about one out of every five captured human beings reaches the coast alive […], so that the thirty thousand annually exported […] represents a loss of 150,000 human beings *annually* from the east coast alone […]. (pp. 64–66)

These numbers emphasise the scale of the problem and indicate the enormous human suffering it produces, but they are too abstract to create much sympathy. To this end, Ballantyne depicts the cruelties of the slave trade in gruesome detail and with considerable force. For example, he does not spare his young readers the thought of a woman, too weak to follow the slave trek, left on the roadside to be 'torn in pieces by that ever-watchful scavenger of the wilderness, the hyena' (p. 361) – an image that was also used in Reverend New's speech at the meeting. A few pages later, a slaver brutally murders a baby to make its mother walk more quickly: he 'plucked the infant from her back, dashed it against a tree, and flung its quivering body

into the jungle' – an incident Ballantyne found in David Livingstone's *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries* (1865),[24] as he acknowledges in a footnote (p. 363). As Patrick Brantlinger points out, the enumeration of cruelties is a typical feature of abolitionist writing, and Ballantyne follows the established pattern, although most abolitionist books would not have been aimed at young readers.[25] Indeed, Ballantyne was clearly conscious of having to navigate difficult terrain: the depiction of atrocities was meant to excite the readers' sympathies, but he could not risk offending the laws of propriety in what was, after all, primarily an adventure story for teenage boys. To modern readers, the images he creates may well seem cruel enough, but Ballantyne indicates that the reality of the slave trade is even worse: in the footnote acknowledging the indebtedness to Livingstone, Ballantyne also points his readers to Lyons McLeod's *Travels in Eastern Africa* (1860)[26] 'for a record of cruelties too horrible to be set down in a book like this' (p. 363).

Little would be gained for my present discussion by examining Ballantyne's depiction of the horrors of the slave trade in more detail; rather, I want to draw attention to the political implications of his text. At the end of the preface, he writes:

> I began my tale in the hope that I might produce something to interest the young (perchance, also, the old) in a most momentous cause, – the total abolition of the African slave-trade. I close it with the prayer that God may make it a tooth in the file which shall eventually cut the chain of slavery, and set the black man free. (p. iv)

Since Ballantyne claims that his book is meant to 'set the black man free', the remainder of this chapter examines this object on two levels: the level of political commentary and the level of the plot.

Towards the end of the book, in a chapter titled 'The Remedy', Ballantyne sets forth what he perceives to be the solution to the problem of slavery, suggesting a 'prevention' and a 'cure'. Prevention addresses the suppression of the slave trade. Ballantyne states: 'we ought, as a nation, to insist [… on] the *immediate* abolition of the slave-trade in Portuguese dependencies; the

scrupulous fulfilment of treaty obligations by the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat, the Shah of Persia, and the Khedive of Egypt' (p. 390). This implies the deployment of the British navy to monitor the situation and to suppress piratical slave trade. His ideas of a 'cure' are even wider-reaching, as they call for a re-structuring of the political and cultural status quo:

> The life-giving, soul-softening Word of God, is the only remedy for the woes of mankind, and, therefore, the only cure for Africa. To introduce it effectually, and along with it civilisation and all the blessings that flow therefrom, it is indispensable that Great Britain should obtain, by treaty or by purchase, one or more small pieces of land, there to establish free Christian negro settlements […] with force sufficient to defend them from the savages, and worse than savages, – the Arab and Portuguese half-caste barbarians and lawless men who infest the land. (pp. 389–90)

While Ballantyne may not have had an aggressive expansion of the British Empire in mind, his suggestion of a 'cure' has obvious implications for the destabilisation of local power structures, which in turn would facilitate colonial expansion. Furthermore, the text gives indications what role these free settlements could play. In an earlier chapter, the protagonist Harold had exclaimed 'what a splendid cotton country it might be if properly cultivated!', and a native guide had agreed that there would be 'great plenty ob eberyting eberywhere in dis yere country' if it were not for the slave trade depopulating the region (p. 258). Significantly, the 'everything' he mentions – indigo, sugar cane, ivory, cotton, tobacco – are the raw materials typically exported from a colony in order to be consumed or processed in the UK. Thus, Ballantyne's vision of a solution is tied up with British colonialism, which begs the question what is meant by the phrase 'setting the black man free'. This question receives an answer through the development of the plot.

At the end of *Black Ivory*, Ballantyne presents a very paternalistic idea of 'freedom' for the black characters. As one of the central strands of the plot, the two white protagonists bring about the reunification of chief

Kambira with his wife Azinté and their son Obo. Rescued from slavery in different places, they meet at a mission hospital on the Seychelles. However, Ballantyne does not let them stay there. As a slave, Azinté had initially been the property of a young Portuguese woman, Maraquita, whom she is said to remember 'with intense pleasure' (p. 409). This Maraquita in turn is allegedly '*very* anxious to get her [Azinté] back again', and although Harold insists that she wants Azinté 'not as a slave, but as a friend' (p. 409), this so-called friendship is soon translated into a business relationship that comprises the whole family. Harold takes them to South Africa so that they can join Maraquita – not as slaves, but as domestic servants: Kambira becomes Maraquita's head gardener, Azinté her cook, and Obo her page-in-waiting (p. 414). Admittedly, this is better than slavery, but in theory they could have stayed on the Seychelles, where Azinté is said to be working as an 'affectionate and intelligent nurse' and where the missionary is confident to find employment for Kambira (pp. 303, 400). In any case, the change of fortunes for the young family, from the social height of a village chief to the rank of domestic servants, is stunning, and it takes quite some effort to suspend one's disbelief in their alleged happiness. This lack of self-determination granted to the black characters is particularly blatant as even the simple seaman Disco is allowed to settle in South Africa as an independent farmer.

Taken together, Ballantyne's treatment of the topic of slavery and the slave trade suggests a certain development. It is dealt with only superficially in *The Red Eric* and *The Gorilla Hunters*, both published at a time when British endeavours of suppressing the trans-Atlantic slave trade were ongoing, albeit with limited success. Given Ballantyne's didactic tendencies, the lack of authorial commentary on the topic of slavery in these two stories is somewhat surprising and, while the novels are not in support of slavery, their condemnation remains rather perfunctory, suggesting that Ballantyne had not yet troubled himself too deeply with the issue. This is certainly different in *Black Ivory*, where the topic of slavery takes centre stage. Characteristically, Ballantyne wanted to get his facts straight, and he quotes from a number of sources on the East African slave trade. There is no question about Ballantyne's abolitionist intentions; indeed, he admits that

the chapter in which he proposes a solution to the problem of the Arab slave trade is 'a lay sermon' he 'preach[es]' to his readers (p. 387). But despite the sympathetic representation of Kambira and Azinté, and despite certain instances of cultural relativism in the text, the general framework remains distinctly Eurocentric, downplaying African agency. Throughout the novel, slaves can only regain their freedom with the help of the white heroes, and by extension the Africans are shown to need European – or, more specifically, British – support for abolishing slavery. This lack of independence and agency is reinforced by Ballantyne's suggestion that the creation of 'free Christian negro settlements' on the African mainland under British protection is necessary for 'curing' the horrors of the African slave trade. And as the poetic 'reward' given to Kambira, Azinté, and Obo makes clear, his concept of black emancipation does not reach beyond their employment as domestic servants.

Notes

1 Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: Routledge, 1980), p. 3; Patrick Dunae, 'Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870–1914', *Victorian Studies*, 24 (1980), pp. 105–21 (p. 105). See also John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), or the essays in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. Jeffrey Richards (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989) and in *Literature and Imperialism*, ed. Robert Giddings (London: Macmillan, 1991).

2 The reference is made in the dedicatory poem 'To the Hesitating Purchaser' (l. 12). Stevenson, *Treasure Island*, ed. Emma Letley, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. xxx. The survey was conducted by Charles Welsh and is reported in Edward Salmon, *Juvenile Literature as It Is* (London: Drane, 1888). Apparently, Welsh asked two questions, 'Who is your favourite author?' and 'Who is your favourite writer of fiction?', and the responses to both questions were taken together to create a list based on 790 responses; the top ten of favourite authors are Charles Dickens (223 votes), W. H. G. Kingston (179), Sir Walter Scott (128), Jules Verne (114), Captain Marryat (102), Robert Michael Ballantyne (67), H. Ainsworth (61), William Shakespeare (44), Mayne Reid (33), and Lord Lytton (32) (p. 14).

3 Eric Quayle, *Ballantyne the Brave: A Victorian Writer and His Family* (London: Hart-Davis, 1967), pp. 298, 300. All further references to this text will be to this edition. According to Quayle, many well-known authors supported the initiative, R. L. Stevenson prominently among them. It was Stevenson who suggested the money be used not only for a monument, but also to support Ballantyne's family – advice the Memorial Committee took to heart when they decided to spend only forty guineas on a marble tombstone and gave the rest to Ballantyne's widow (pp. 298–300).

4 Charlotte M. Yonge, *What Books to Lend and What to Give* (London: National Society's Depository, 1887), p. 30.
5 In his seminal study *Der Imperialismus* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1975), Winfried Baumgart states that what he terms the classic phase of imperialism ('klassischer Imperialismus') started around 1880 (p. 2); Dunae, p. 107.
6 Hannabus, 'Ballantyne's Message of Empire', in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. Richards, pp. 53–71. Parker, 'Race and Empire in the Stories of R. M. Ballantyne', in *Literature and Imperialism*, ed. Giddings, pp. 44–63 (p. 52).
7 Ballantyne published four novels in 1861: *The Dog Crusoe*, *The Golden Dream*, *The Red Eric*, and *The Gorilla Hunters* (see Quayle, pp. 142–46). Both *The Dog Crusoe* and *The Golden Dream* are set in the USA and do not deal with slavery.
8 The relevant acts are 47 Geo 3 Sess. 1 c. 36 and 3 & 4 Will 4 c. 73; they are most easily accessible online at www.pdavis.nl/Legis_06.htm (Slave Trade Act) and www.pdavis.nl/Legis_07.htm (Slavery Abolition Act).
9 A full-text search for the phrase 'slave trade' limited to the sections 'news' and 'editorial and commentary' reveals sixty-nine articles in 1856, one hundred and thirty-one articles in 1857, one hundred and fifty-eight articles in 1858, eighty articles in 1859, eighty-six articles in 1860, and one hundred and eight articles in 1861.
10 Ballantyne, *The Red Eric; or, The Whaler's Last Cruise* (London: Routledge, 1861), pp. 189, 106. All further references to this text will be to this edition, and will be marked in parentheses.
11 Jeff Pardue, 'African Squadron', in *The Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, ed. Junius P. Rodriguez, 2 vols (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 2002), I, pp. 20–21. Christopher Lloyd, *The Navy and the Slave Trade: The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Cass, 1968) provides a detailed account of the navy's role in the suppression of the slave trade.
12 'House of Commons, Tuesday, Feb. 22', *The Times*, 23 February 1848, pp. 2–5 (p. 4).
13 'House of Commons, Tuesday 19', *The Times*, 20 March 1850, pp. 2–5.
14 Paul Du Chaillu, *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* (London: Murray, 1861). For an examination of the 'gorilla mania' and Ballantyne's role in it, see Jochen Petzold, '"How like us is that ugly brute, the ape!": Darwin's "Ape Theory" and its Traces in Victorian Children's Magazines', in *Reflecting on Darwin*, ed. Eckart Voigts, Barbara Schaff, and Monika Pietrzak-Franger (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 57–71.
15 Du Chaillu mentions slavery at various points in his narrative; the most extensive treatment is to be found in Chapter 19, which includes a sub-section on the 'Slave System of Equatorial Africa' (pp. 331–33).
16 For a comparison of Du Chaillu's and Ballantyne's descriptions of gorillas, see Petzold, pp. 62–63.
17 Robert Michael Ballantyne, *The Coral Island: A Tale of the Pacific Ocean* (London: Nelson, 1858).
18 Robert Michael Ballantyne, *The Gorilla Hunters* (London: Blackie [n.d.]), p. 149. All further references to this text will be to this edition, and will be marked in parentheses.
19 Du Chaillu, pp. 94, 143, 332.
20 Lloyd, p. 174.
21 'Anti-Slavery Meeting in Leeds', *The Leeds Mercury*, 16 November 1872, p. 10.

22 Quayle, p. 262.
23 Robert Michael Ballantyne, *Black Ivory: A Tale of Adventure among the Slavers of East Africa* (London: Nisbet, 1973; repr. 1883), p. iii. All further references to this text will be to this reprint edition and will be marked in parentheses.
24 David Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries and of the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa, 1858–1864* (London: John Murray, 1865).
25 Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 175.
26 Lyons McLeod, *Travels in Eastern Africa; with The Narrative of a Residence in Mosambique*, 2 vols (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1860).

4. Don Roberto on Doughty Deeds; or, Slavery and Family History in the Scottish Renaissance

MICHAEL MORRIS

> Robert Cunninghame Graham, a poet and politician, was described by Robert Burns as the 'noblest instance of great talents, great fortune and great worth that ever I saw'. After university he travelled to Jamaica where he worked as a receiver-general of taxes and was a landowner and planter. Later, he was Member of Parliament for Stirlingshire, professing radical political views (despite having made a fortune from slave plantations) and supporting the French Revolution. Raeburn's sympathetic portrait shows a contemplative Graham, surrounded by books, letters and writing equipment. Painted in the last years of Graham's life, it reminds the viewer of his literary output, such as his popular romantic poem 'If doughty deeds my lady please', which was greatly admired by Burns.
>
> —Scottish National Portrait Gallery

On the second floor of Edinburgh's Scottish National Portrait Gallery, in the 'Age of Improvement' section, hangs Henry Raeburn's 1794 portrait of Robert Cunninghame Graham of Gartmore (1735–1797). The caption accompanying the portrait, quoted above, celebrates the key themes of his life in colonial administration, politics, and literature (he acquired the sobriquet 'Doughty Deeds' following the popularity of his lyric).[1] Slavery is absent from the portrait, though it is mentioned in parentheses in the caption; it is posed as an ironic counterweight to the liberal politics of this enlightened improving landlord who, as an MP, is credited with introducing a 'bill of rights, which to some extent foreshadowed the Reform Bill of 1832'.[2] In September 2015, Doughty Deeds would re-appear on the first floor of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Stephen McLaren's photography exhibition 'Jamaica: A Sweet Forgetting', a part of the 'Ties that Bind'

exhibition designed in response to the aftermath of the independence referendum of September 2014. McLaren's exhibition presents 'the traces of these Scottish–Caribbean ties that are largely overlooked or forgotten'.[3] McLaren notes:

> Forgetting is a soothing kind of feeling […]. In this subject matter there would have been a period when slave owners themselves and the general Scottish population would like to pretend no one had any culpability in how slavery impacted the lives and futures of others.[4]

The photographs focus on ties of land, assets, and blood between Scotland and Jamaica, including evocative Jamaican place names such as Culloden Bay and Hampden Park. Focusing on sugar, McLaren photographed the estates at home and abroad of seven landowners, including Robert Graham, who amassed fortunes through the slave economy in Jamaica before returning to Scotland. Robert Graham made his fortune from Roaring River plantation before inheriting estates at Ardoch, Gartmore, and latterly Finlaystone, where a section of the garden is still known as 'Slave's Paradise'.[5] Thus, McLaren's photographs are intended to reveal what the Raeburn oil painting conceals: the slavery connections of landed gentry such as Robert Graham, and the broader impact of the slave economy on Scotland's Age of Improvement.

McLaren's exhibition explicitly builds upon the historical and cultural excavations over the last twenty years or so which seek to overcome what Carla Sassi identifies as Scotland's 'collective amnesia' around slavery.[6] Yet, in fact, Graham's slavery connections had been set down in writing ninety years prior to the exhibition in an idiosyncratic biography written by his great-great-grandson Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham (or Don Roberto) in *Doughty Deeds: An Account of the Life of Robert Graham of Gartmore, Poet & Politician, 1735–1797, Drawn from his Letter-books & Correspondence*.[7] The curiously uneven treatment of slavery in the biography may be seen as an emblematic example of the simultaneous revealing and concealing of slavery which contributes to Scotland's 'collective amnesia'. I

have little interest in judging Graham or his ancestor as individuals; this chapter seeks instead to improve our understanding of what happened to slavery in Scottish national memory, in particular amongst writers on the left, in the crucial period around the Scottish Renaissance of the 1920s. In particular, it considers the dual role of the genre of family history, reading *Doughty Deeds* alongside Tom Johnston's subversive *Our Scots Noble Families*, published in 1909 and republished several times, including in 1925 – the same year as *Doughty Deeds*.[8] On the one hand, the search through family documents would inevitably reveal some of the clearest material on slavery connections for those families with ties of land, assets, and blood across the Atlantic; on the other hand, the agenda behind the search – often to glorify or eulogise – would make the searcher even more likely to conceal, minimise, or euphemise the slavery connections of the landed elite. Elite family histories provided a vision in which wealth creation was a result of the personal talents of individual entrepreneurs, and landownership a sacred endowment for the most deserving. This vision would be challenged by the socialists and anti-imperialist nationalists of the Scottish left in the early twentieth century. Recovering the memory of slavery would seem to be grist to their mill: it could have formed part of a raft of arguments to de-legitimise and disgrace the landed elite. Yet, on this matter, socialists and nationalists continually seemed to pull their punches. It is not true to say that slavery was simply forgotten or ignored. Rather, during this crucial period in which the field of Scottish history was thoroughly ploughed in search of new material and re-interpretations, slavery was continually turned up before being buried over again.

The modern recovery of the memory of slavery, which has slowly emerged since the 1990s, has therefore required a 'revolution in native historiography'.[9] Much of the relevant scholarship has been brought together in the collection *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: the Caribbean Connection* (2015) which argues that although Scottish ports had limited direct involvement with slave trade ships, the colonial trade in sugar, tobacco, and cotton has long been recognised as crucial to Scotland's economic 'improvement'.[10] Yet the new revisionism contends that the enslaved labour which cultivated these crops in the New World was dissociated from this tale of

entrepreneurial success, and Scots who operated out of other slave ports have been ignored. Scotland has largely preferred to remember its role in abolition at the expense of more searching questions about slavery. The editor of the collection, T. M. Devine, whose 1975 study of the Glasgow Tobacco Lords scarcely mentioned slavery, revised his position in 2011 and proposed that Scotland's comparatively poorer situation at the start of the eighteenth century might more clearly illustrate Eric Williams's argument that slavery underpinned industrial capitalism.[11] Devine notes how slavery filtered through investments in landownership and large-scale agricultural 'improvements', as well as investments in staple industries of textiles (silk, linen, wool, and cotton), coal mining, and iron, as well as a myriad of smaller industries such as rope and sail making, glassworks, and brewing. Stephen Mullen ponders the relationship between Caribbean slavery and Scottish capitalism in an analysis of the Glasgow West-India merchants, planters, and sojourners that details the capital flows from plantation to Scottish commerce and banking from 1776 to 1846. He notes the political and social influence of the Glasgow West-India Association, founded in 1807, as well as their domination of Glaswegian claims for compensation for emancipation in 1834.[12] Such economic and social history has been accompanied by a mushrooming of cultural memory work, including James Robertson's historical novel *Joseph Knight* (2003),[13] Jackie Kay's radio play *The Lamplighter* (2007),[14] Lou Prendergast's stage plays *Fifty Shades of Black* (2013) and *Blood Lines* (2014),[15] and Andrea Baker's radio documentary *A Man's a Man for a' that: Frederick Douglass in Scotland* (2015).[16]

Scottish Victorian family histories of the merchants and the landed gentry, sometimes compiled by descendants of those same merchants, expressed an elite perspective and tended to abound in euphemism. They celebrated early 'merchant adventurers' and sanitised the nation's 'estate owners' and 'proprietors' of slavery connections.[17] Such an approach to family histories of landowners would be subverted in Tom Johnston's *Our Scots Noble Families*. Johnston (1881–1965), who had a complicated relationship with Graham,[18] served as editor for *Forward*, 'A Scots Weekly Journal'. Inspired by the contemporary question of land reform, a series of columns formed the book's fiery denunciation of individual elite families. The

book would become a bestseller. Ramsay MacDonald provided a preface, and the author himself would become one of the most influential figures of the Labour Party, serving as MP, cabinet minister, Secretary of State for Scotland, and in a variety of public posts. This book sought to:

> Show the people that our Old Nobility is not noble; that its lands are stolen lands—stolen either by force or fraud, show people that its title-deeds are rapine, murder, massacre, cheating or Court harlotry; dissolve the halo of divinity that surrounds the hereditary title […]. (p. xxxv)

In his later years, Johnston attempted to buy up copies of the earlier tract, apparently embarrassed at some of the excesses of his youth – 'times have changed', he noted (p. xxxv).[19] Yet the more times change, the more they stay the same, and the renewed interest in landowning practices in Scotland has seen a revival of the reputation of Johnston's merciless indictment as a notable forerunner to the likes of Andy Wightman's *Who Owns Scotland* (1996).[20]

The question of slavery is prominent, both opening and closing Johnston's condemnatory history of noble families; indeed Atlantic slavery would seem to be grist to Johnston's mill as part of his 'General Indictment' of the 'shameless and dastardly methods by which a few selected stocks snatched the patrimony of the people' (p. xxxii). Yet it becomes clear that slavery is deployed less as an integrated part of capitalist landownership and more as a comparative metaphor for emphasising (or exaggerating) the conditions of Scotland's working class. For example, in describing the Hays, Johnston omits the slavery connections in noting that the king (Charles I) gave the notoriously profligate Earl of Kinnoul 'the island of Barbadoes, and some £400,000 of public money' (p. 119). However, the infamous Highland Clearances performed by the Gordons of Barra in 1851 are described as a 'slave hunt':

> Were you to see the racing and chasing of policemen, constables, and ground officers pursuing the outlawed natives, you would think,

> only for their colour, that you had been by some miracle transported to the banks of the Gambia on the Slave Coast of Africa. (p. 3)

In particular, Johnston highlights colliers and salters who experienced forms of bonded wage labour from 1606 to 1799. The opening page notes that elite histories have omitted unflattering elements:

> [T]hat is why we never hear of the hundred and fifty years slavery, [*sic*] and why the collier of to-day does not know that his ancestor of a century ago was a two-legged chattel, bought, sold, and lashed as were the cotton plantation negroes in pre-Civil War times. (p. xxxi)

The closing appendix expands on this theme, arguing that a 'slave village' near Niddry Mill outside Edinburgh was populated by 'poor, over-toiled creatures' for whom

> a peculiar type of mouth […] wide, open, thick-lipped, projecting equally above and below […] like savages, was developed, but it is a matter for extreme wonderment that this sort of thing should be going on in Scotland at the very same time as our sapient legislators were making St. Stephen's ring with denunciation for negro slavery. (p. 171)

Johnston's lurid portrait of labour conditions producing physical characteristics of racial stereotyping contribute to what Chris Whatley identifies as the 'unwarrantably bleak image' of colliers and salters in Scotland. These were bonded conditions of (relatively high-)waged labour that existed in some aspects 'within the margins of a slave system' but cannot be considered equivalent to chattel slavery.[21] Slavery therefore holds a curious place in this 'history from below' – American slavery is held out as a well-known extreme example of exploitation and suffering; however, British imperial slavery is never integrated into this radical subversion of elite Scottish

families. The abolition movement is reduced to an instance of misdirected social conscience on the part of preening politicians at Westminster who ignore suffering at home. Ultimately, the cumulative effect here is to obscure Scotland's connections with plantation slavery and to situate the 'real slaves' of Scottish history as the colliers, salters, and cleared Highlanders. In the present context, those who object to the current recovery of the memory of slavery continue to evoke these same groups, competitively playing them off against chattel slaves in Scottish national memory.

This is the context in which Don Roberto composed his own family history of his slave-owning ancestor Doughty Deeds. Robert Graham the elder acted as planter, politician, and public servant in Jamaica between 1752 and 1770. He married Annie Taylor, the sister of Simon Taylor, who became known as 'the richest man in the British Empire' and whose letters have provided a major source for historians of the Caribbean.[22] Robert Graham fathered a number of mixed-race illegitimate children in Jamaica: he confesses to a 'dissipated train of whoring, the consequences of which I now dayly [*sic*] see before me in a motely variegated race of different complexions'.[23] Graham and his wife would return to his estates with 'several West Indian negroes'.[24] The family history consists of reproductions of a selection of his ancestor's letters, combined with the later Graham's own observations and tangents of imagination. It is designed primarily as a portrait of his ancestor and to give 'a picture of Jamaican life two hundred years ago' (p. xi). It is not intended, and it would not be fair to judge it, as a historical account integrating slavery into Scottish capitalism and landownership, though that is insinuated in certain sections. In terms of motivations to write, it is fair to say that Graham saw a little of himself in his ancestor. Watts and Davies note the 'parallel between the lives of the biographer and his subject':

> [T]he paradox of the later Graham's situation as a pioneer socialist, attacking social injustice while himself being a landowner with private means, had its counterpart in Robert Graham's situation as a Jamaican slave-owner and slave-vendor who once laconically noted that he and his associates were quelling a negro uprising by 'Burning, Hanging

> and Gibbeting the prisoners', yet lamented 'I am one of those who in a Land of Slaves, struggle for Liberty.'[25]

Given Graham's own experience in the colonies, his penetrating anti-imperial insights, and his uncompromising wit, he would seem singularly well-placed to cut through the obfuscation of slavery in both elite and radical family histories. Yet *Doughty Deeds* is generally acknowledged as far from his best work. In contrast to the cutting Swiftian satire of '"Bloody Niggers"' (1897),[26] the 1925 biography continually exposes the slavery past only to roll it back up again in a blanket of sentiment. For example, in the book's most incisive and insightful section, slavery is integrated as a fundamental part of Scottish capitalist 'Improvement':

> Jamaica was the Ophir of the West of Scotland in those times. Upon its sugar fields and by the agency of its slave labour, Glasgow slowly emerged from its primeval state of a small borough town, to be a business centre, rivalling and soon surpassing Bristol in its West Indian trade. (pp. 18–19)

With the key phrase 'the agency of its slave labour', Graham overturns more than a century of historiographical euphemism in accounts of the rise of Glasgow. He goes on to suggest that if any of the 'West Country Scottish families who now boast of their pedigrees […] had been endowed with any sense of humour', they would have taken for their crest a hogshead, while their coat of arms would show a ledger, a 'negro proper', and a cat-o'-nine tails whip upon a sugar field (p. 19). The description of ledgers and account books quarried from the family records at Ardoch leaves little doubt of the connection between Scottish estates and Caribbean plantations. He writes: 'The produce of [Roaring River estate] sugar, rum and molasses, had to come to Greenock to be disposed of, and ships had to be laden with provisions required on the estate' (p. 130). In Scotland, Robert Graham continued in slave trading, including the purchase of 'twenty new negroes' for his plantations (p. 132). Such a clear-eyed approach to family history would

complement and expand upon Tom Johnston's denunciation with an Atlantic perspective.

And yet, the full implications are never teased out; slavery is both exposed and reburied through a combination of argument, tone, sentiment, and Graham's own use of racial stereotype. Enslaved Africans are too often referred to as childlike, and he endorses a portrait of 'white Creole girls' that more resembles a 'white negress', so that '[i]t is no wonder that the enterprising Scottish youths who flocked out to the island were averse from marriage' (p. 69).[27] He paints a simplified picture of the eighteenth century where the brutality of slavery was completely accepted and unquestioned; then he attempts, not always successfully, to strike a balance between acknowledging the brutality and giving more credit than is probably due to moments of humanity and manumission. For example, the preface references abundant floggings, indiscriminate sexual relations practiced with 'even less restraint […] out in the colony than there was at home', slave revolts, and the brutal crushing of those revolts. In a characteristically sharp modern comparison, he notes: 'Well did the planters know that their dominion rested on Brown Bess, the flint-lock musket with the three-cornered bayonet, and the hand grenade, just as it rests today on the beneficent quick-firing gun and hawking aeroplane' (p. xii). Yet he concludes: 'on the whole, cruelty towards their dark brethren in the Lord does not appear to have been rampant, judging by what my ancestor wrote both to his parents and friends' (p. xi). Indeed, there is a tendency throughout to over-rely on what is said in the letters, rather than to explore fully what is left unsaid:

> It seems curious, but is true, at least to judge from what my ancestor writes in his letters to his friends, that on the whole the planters were not unpopular among the negroes, whom, with exceptions, they all treated in the light of children, pensioned when they were old, and often manumitted in their wills. (p. xiii)

The contemporary rise of the Harlem Renaissance (1917–1928) would see the likes of Zora Neale Hurston, Claude McKay, and Marcus Garvey challenge

just this kind of infantilising. In addition, secondary material cited in *Doughty Deeds* is drawn largely from those such as eighteenth-century writer Edward Long[28] who is noted by Graham as an 'impartial authority' (p. 66), though is more often regarded nowadays as a racist, pro-slavery imperialist. This combination of factors – form, motivation, angle, primary and secondary material – results in an uneven account with a blunted political edge.

In the Robert Graham archive, housed at the National Library of Scotland, certain pages show Don Roberto's distinctive cattle brand symbol, presumably pencilled in on pages he wished to use. The abundance of Scottish names in the letters attests to the large presence of Scots on the island, while he also sent to Scotland gifts of 'turtles', 'sugar and puncheon of the best Jamaican rum'.[29] Although Doughty Deeds would later achieve some literary fame, his letters are for the most part business-like and unreflective. This is apparent in the letter to his father Nicol Graham, quoted above, describing the large-scale slave rebellion led by Tacky which ripped through Jamaica in 1760:

> The Negroes in several Parishes have rose in a state of Rebellion; killed and murdered a number of People and burned and ruined many opulent plantations and notwithstanding that we are day [by day?] Burning, Hanging and Gibbeting the prisoners that are taken I do not find that we shall soon be able to recover our former tranquility [*sic*].[30]

With the saccharine glorifications of the First World War apparently in mind, Don Roberto admires his lack of 'cant' in the re-telling: 'No single word of the cruel necessity we were under of taking human life'; 'not a word about the heroism of our gallant country-men, no single episode, well spiced and seasoned thick with adjectives, telling of […] heroic deeds' (pp. 31–32). Around four hundred enslaved persons were killed, with six hundred shipped off to the Bay of Honduras. Although Robert Graham tells his father that his position of aide-de-camp to the Governor spared him from direct involvement with the reprisals, another letter attests that he was responsible

for organising the 'sending off the island the Negroes in the several jails under sentence of transportation'.[31]

There is a significant series of letters that Doughty Deeds exchanged with literary figures Tobias Smollett and Stirling poet Hector MacNeill, both of whom spent time on, and wrote about, Jamaica; Smollett married into the Jamaican plantocracy through Anne Lascelles. In 1768, the year he moved to Italy, Smollett entrusted Robert Graham with selling off his slaves. Graham informs Smollett that he is due 1602 pounds, which includes a combination of bonds, and 501 pounds of which comes from the direct selling of enslaved persons:

> I have concluded the Sales of your Negroes & in order that you may fully understand the situation of your affairs I shall form an account of what is now due you upon Bond in this Island & shall only observe to you that your Negroes were sold by W. Bontein & me & that in the valuation we put upon them we were assisted by an indifferent person. In examining the Sales of your Negroes I beg leave to refer you to the List of them formerly sent you.

This list shows 'Phillis Old & infirm sold to George Martin a free Negroe' for fifteen pounds. A number of family members are sold to a James Irving for 230 pounds:

Hyntas £60
Belinda her Daughter £25
Quashee her D..... £15
Sarah £60
Peggy her daughter £10
Cuffee or Lapall £35
Duke £25

'Oxford, Quaco and Kingston' are sold to a Neill Campbell for 160 pounds. Nero is sold to Hercules Ross from Forfar for eighty pounds. Mr

Loch pays a manumission of fifty pounds for Grace.[32] This page in the archives might be considered a potent document for the recovery of the memory of slavery in Scottish literary history. With so much attention paid to Smollett's Anglo–Scottish battles with John Wilkes in the 1760s, scant attention has been paid to this aspect where 'Scotland's First Novelist'[33] entrusts the sale of his slaves to the future author of 'Doughty Deeds', underscoring the presence of slavery in Scotland's Age of Enlightenment and Improvement.

Given the writing in the letters is mostly dry and unreflective, Don Roberto adds racier descriptions and offers provocative modern comparisons of moral complicity. For example, an abolitionist in Jamaica would have been looked upon with the same 'half-shuddering contempt with which the ordinary Englishman looked on a pacifist during the late war'.[34] The biography, then, brings Scotland and Jamaica into imaginative comparison often through a series of sketches of eighteenth-century life. Gartmore is cast in the half-glow of Scottian romance, a region populated by Rob Roy, broken clansmen, and where those who lived near the wild Highland line 'looked on the inhabitants "above the pass" as the early settlers in Vermont and Maine looked on the Indians' (p. 14). Graham imagines his ancestor's arrival at Port Royal as a series of reminders and stark distinctions. The Blue Mountains 'surely reminded him of Ben Ledi and of Ben Venue' (p. 25), though 'nowhere in his correspondence […] does he say anything about the flowers, the palm trees, or the fruits, all of them so different from the cast-iron flora of the Clyde' (p. 27). In terms of the people, '[t]he negroes and the half-caste population, with their bewildering shades of colour, their strange and broken English […] were strangely different from the sober natives of the city on the Clyde' (p. 25).

More troublingly still, perhaps, is the scene where he imagines Robert Graham's wife Annie's response to Scotland: 'Instead of servile negroes, ready to anticipate her slightest wish, she found herself amongst a peasantry well educated and enterprising, but in those days rough and uncouth to a degree' (p. 89). He imagines her wandering beside Lemahamish pool in Gartmore, nostalgic for Roaring River in Jamaica:

> I fancy when the east winds blew up across the Carse of Stirling, straight from the North Sea, and days of rain succeeded days of rain, she must often have wished herself at Roaring River, starting out for a ride round the plantation, with a nigger running by her side. (p. 122)[35]

It is possible that this jarring use of terminology is deployed ironically here, representing the language of the 'creole wife', though there is a problem with tone more broadly. The tone of wry humour and bonhomie shows up well the Georgian 'lack of cant' over violence and sex in comparison to contemporary hypocrisy, which does seem to be the central concern for Don Roberto's interpretation of the letters. However, one consequence of this focus is that it also minimises the effects upon those who endured Robert Graham's actions. Certainly, we might think of the anonymous enslaved women who endured Robert Graham's 'train of whoring' and the consequences for family life in the Caribbean more broadly.[36] Furthermore, Robert Graham recounts the tale of one Martin who was sent back from Scotland to Jamaica. He writes to his friend Angus MacBean in Kingston in March 1773: 'He is too lively and sprightly to accommodate his disposition to the sedate Gravity of this climate […] I advise you not to purchase him yourself for he is too godly and thoughtless.'[37] This is a case of 're-transportation' to slave colonies on which the landmark Somerset case was fought. The previous year, in 1772, Lord Mansfield had declared that an enslaved person could not be removed from England against their will. The same year that Martin was re-transported, Joseph Knight would leave the service of Sir John Wedderburn, putting in motion the legal challenge to his ownership, which the Scottish courts finally decided in his favour in 1778. Yet Graham writes only to admire his ancestor's apparent humour: 'Thoughtless and godly is an unusual though not impossible combination in a negro […] My ancestor may have intended to write "giddy" but by good luck the word is blurred' (p. 96).

This chapter has explored in more detail the collective amnesia in Scotland, in particular identifying some limitations around the celebrated

Scottish Renaissance during which slavery was both turned up and re-buried. Indeed, Graham's *Doughty Deeds*, penned by a leading and outspoken critical thinker of the left, opens with a clear exposition of the connections between Scottish estates and Caribbean slavery. Yet it closes with a cloyingly sentimental scene at the burial ground at Gartmore where Robert Graham is enshrined as pater familias with his loyal 'black servant':

> In the walled little burial ground, covered in February as with a pall of white by snowdrops, he lies with a long line of Grahams. His father, mother and his wife, with many others of the name, all sleep beside him, and his black servant Tom, so says tradition, is buried close to where he lies. (p. 164)

The significance of slavery is buried here in a sweet remembering more akin to the warm, benevolent tones of Henry Raeburn's 1794 portrait. In the current context of calls for social and cultural, as well as financial, reparations for slavery, it is now a key task for Scottish cultural studies to engage the buried potential of *Doughty Deeds* and develop a fuller critical discussion. For example, a systematic study of links between Scottish country houses and slavery is now due, along the lines of a specifically Scottish version of *Slavery and the British Country House* (2013).[38] Grand estate houses, portraits in our galleries, and fond family histories are amongst the cultural artefacts which can be 'read against the grain' to reveal the secrets of empire that remain half-buried in Scotland's collective memory.

Notes

1 The romantic chivalric poem appeared under the title 'O Tell Me How to Woo Thee' in the first edition of the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 2 vols (Kelso: Printed by James Ballantyne for T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, London, 1802), II, p. 304. The editor Walter Scott believed it dated from the age of Charles I, an error he corrected in the second edition. It has been set to music and appears in many anthologies, including the influential *Oxford Book of English Verse 1250–1900*, ed. Arthur Quiller-Couch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900). For brevity, subsequent references will refer to the poem's author as Robert Graham or Doughty Deeds. Doughty Deeds without italics or quotation marks will refer to the person, 'Doughty Deeds' in quotation marks will refer to the poem, and *Doughty Deeds* in italics will refer to the 1925 biography written by his descendant Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham. The latter will be referred to as Graham (in line with the policy adopted throughout this collection) or Don Roberto.

2 John Walker, entry on Robert Graham of Gartmore, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn., ed. Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4534 [accessed 15 May 2016].

3 'Document Scotland: The Ties that Bind', SNPG, 26 September 2015 to 24 April 2016. McLaren's previous work includes documentary photographs of the Scottish diaspora in the likes of the United States and Nova Scotia. www.nationalgalleries.org/whatson/on-now-coming-soon/document-scotland/stephen-mclaren.

4 Fayemi Shakur, 'A Sweet Forgetting: Slavery, Sugar and Scotland', *New York Times*, 7 October 2015, lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/10/07/stephen-mclaren-jamaica-sugar-scotland-caribbean/?_r=0.

5 The Roaring River plantation is currently owned by the Jamaican government but may be sold to a Chinese construction company looking to build a tourist resort.

6 Carla Sassi, 'Acts of (Un)Willed Amnesia: Dis/appearing Figurations of the Caribbean in Post-Union Scottish Literature', in Giovanna Covi, Joan Anim-Addo, Velma Pollard, and Carla Sassi, *Caribbean–Scottish Relations: Colonial and Contemporary Inscriptions in History, Language and Literature* (London: Mango, 2007), pp. 131–98.

7 London: Heinemann, 1925. Wherever possible, further references are in the text.

8 The first edition was published in Glasgow by Forward. All page references in this essay are based on the new edition by Argyll Publishing (Glendaruel, 1999), and are included in the text.

9 Ian Bell, 'Scotland's Shameful Role in the Slave Trade Exposed', *The Herald*, 12 October 2015, www.heraldscotland.com/arts_ents/13838688.Scotland_s_shameful_role_in_the_slave_trade_exposed/.

10 *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: the Caribbean Connection*, ed. T. M Devine (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

11 T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and their Trading Activities, 1740–1790* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1975); Devine, 'Did Slavery Make Scotia Great?', *Britain and the World*, 4 (2011), pp. 40–64; Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944; repr. 1994).

12 Stephen Scott Mullen, 'The Glasgow West India Interest: Integration, Collaboration and Exploitation in the British Atlantic World, 1776–1846' (doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2015). See also, Mullen 'The Great Glasgow West India House of John Campbell, senior, & Co.', in Devine (ed.), *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past*, pp. 124–144.

13 London: Fourth Estate.
14 BBC Radio 3, March 2007; Tarset: Bloodaxe, 2008.
15 *Fifty Shades of Black*, Ankur Productions, Citizen's Theatre, September 2013; *Blood Lines*, Arches Theatre, July 2014.
16 BBC Radio 4, October 2015.
17 For example, John Guthrie Smith and John Oswald Mitchell, *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry* (Glasgow: McLehose, 1870; repr. 1878).
18 See Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies, *Cunninghame Graham: A Critical Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 245–46. Graham appeared in *Our Scots Noble Families* with Johnston dreaming of 'the occurrences that would of a surety arrive, were the Stuarts to return to the Scottish throne in the person of the man who wrote "Success," and who went to gaol for the unemployed' (p. 121).
19 Contextual information in this section is gleaned from Brian D. Osborne's very useful 'Introduction' to the 1999 edition, pp. v–xxv (p. xvi).
20 Edinburgh: Canongate.
21 Christopher Whatley, 'The Dark Side of the Enlightenment: Sorting out Serfdom', in *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives*, ed. T. M. Devine and J. R. Young (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), pp. 259–75 (pp. 259, 262).
22 Island-born Taylor 'acknowledged his Scots descent by naming two of his pens "Montrose" and "Burrowfield" after his father's (Patrick Tailyour) properties back in Angus'. Eric Graham, 'The Scots Penetration of the Jamaican Plantation Business', in *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection*, ed. T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015) pp. 82–98 (p. 89).
23 Letter to Samuel Bean, 24 March 1760. Cited from Graham, *Doughty Deeds,* p. 71.
24 *Doughty Deeds,* p. 96.
25 Watts and Davies, p. 275. Quote from Letter to Major General David Graeme, Kingston, 31 March 1776. *Doughty Deeds*, p. 56.
26 First publ. in the newspaper *The Social Democrat*, 15 April 1897, pp. 104–09. A version titled 'Niggers' can be found in *The Ipané* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1899), pp. 164–77.
27 I should also mention the repeated comparison of slave ownership to the upkeep and trading of horses. For the most part, this is clearly supposed to be describing the perspective of Robert Graham, though the phrasing cannot avoid question here:

> He seems to have had a better eye for the points of a negro than a horse, judging by his one (recorded) venture into horse-coping. (p. 77)

> A set of idle negroes, disordered with the Itch, is not a pleasant picture for people nowadays to contemplate. It is like a stable overrun with mange, and Robert Graham treated it exactly in the same spirit that a master of foxhounds, writing about his horses, would treat the thing today. (p. 78)

> In justice to the Jamaican planters of those times, one is bound to say that at their death […] they frequently manumitted slaves […]. So used the Indians on the plains in the United States to free favourite horses and let them loose to roam about with their wild herds. (p. 82)

28 Long, *The History of Jamaica; or, a General Survey of the Antient and Modern State of the Island*, 3 vols (London: Lowndes, 1774).
29 Letter to Lady Margaret, 30 August 1757. NLS, Robert Graham of Gartmore papers. Acc.11335/177- Kingston 1757–62.
30 Letter to Nicol Graham, 10 June 1760. NLS, Robert Graham of Gartmore papers. Acc.11335/177- Kingston 1757–62 (in book pp. 31–32).
31 Letter to his Hon Moore Kingston, July 1760. Acc. 11335/ 177.
32 Letter to Tobias Smollett, 8 October 1768, Acc.11335/177, pp. 282–83. Hercules Ross of Rossie, Forfar, would later invoke the ire of his fellow planters when he gave evidence for the abolitionist committee. Thomas Clarkson gave the final word to Ross in his *History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament*, 2 vols (London: L. Taylor, 1808).
33 *Tobias Smollett: Scotland's First Novelist*, ed. O. M. Brack (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007). Smollett, not uncharacteristically, would later quarrel with Graham.
34 *Doughty Deeds*, p. 36.
35 In a remarkable footnote, Graham reports:

> I well remember hearing how my grandmother, having bought a negress girl called Pug, was always adjured by her to buy 'brother Robert; niggers is cheap, Missy'. She bought and freed many negroes, and her few sins (one hopes) are blotted out thereby. To her dying day she never told, without the tears rising to her eyes, how it wrung her heart to see the negroes she had befriended kneel weeping, as a tack brought the vessel she was going home in close to the Port Royal wharf. (pp. 137–38)

36 Joan Anim-Addo, '"I, Daughter": Auto/Biography, Fractured Histories and Familial Quest for "Scotch Blood" in Grenada and the Grenadines', in Giovanna Covi, Joan Anim-Addo, Velma Pollard, and Carla Sassi, *Caribbean–Scottish Relations: Colonial and Contemporary Inscriptions in History, Language and Literature* (London: Mango, 2007), pp. 168–84.
37 Cited from *Doughty Deeds*, p. 96.
38 Ed. Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann (Swindon: English Heritage).

5. Empire and Globalisation in John Francis Campbell's *My Circular Notes* (1876)

JESSICA HOMBERG-SCHRAMM

In the two volumes of his book *My Circular Notes*, John Francis Campbell (1821–1885) describes his journey around the world in journal excerpts and letters. Campbell was a scholar who was particularly interested in Celtic culture and in examining traditional folk tales, some of which he recorded in his best-known work *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*.[1] Campbell was an eminent traveller and toured extensively in the Scottish Highlands as well as abroad and allegedly spoke eight languages. His journey around the world, documented in the two volumes of *My Circular Notes*,[2] took place from 6 July 1874 to 6 July 1875. In the first volume, he gives an account of his time spent in North America and of his journeys in Japan, whereas the second volume focuses exclusively on his time in Asia, especially in Japan, Java and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The *Circular Notes* are an interesting document that represents as well as challenges Victorian notions of nationality, race, and imperialism. This chapter scrutinises Campbell's views on empire and globalisation and in a second step engages critically with Campbell's notion of a cosmopolitan world that is increasingly characterised by the proliferation of European ideas. The intercontinental political and economic links of the European empires facilitated the globalisation of the Victorian world. Infrastructure projects such as the railway link between the American east and west coast, completed in 1869, rapidly transformed the countryside, allowing travellers to reach even remote areas. Both railways and steamships increased mobility, and modern communications technologies like the telegraph further enhanced a sense of global connectivity. All these developments could enable Victorians – and perhaps especially such affluent travellers as Campbell – to feel like 'citizens of the world'. Campbell saw himself as a cosmopolitan traveller, and this chapter argues that his concept of cosmopolitanism (and the concomitant idea of all people being able to

coexist in peace), while deeply rooted in imperialism, already starts to challenge its logic.[3]

In the introduction, Campbell nonchalantly understates the reason for his journey: '[The writer of these papers] might have been wearing out armchairs in London, well-paid and housed for doing very little; he prefers to please himself, and ramble with some object in view' (I, p. 1). The journey constituted in fact a scientific mission to challenge new glacial theories. But, as a *Nature* review from 1876 notes, 'Mr. Campbell has […] avoided the grave mistake of mingling together in wild confusion humorously written notes of travel and sober arguments on difficult scientific questions'.[4] Instead of mixing genres, Campbell added his one-hundred-page paper 'The Period of Polar Glaciation' as an appendix to the second volume. Although the main purpose of Campbell's journey is the examination of glacial theories, he saw his trip as important in its own right, which is reflected in his book. He kept a journal, and in his first letter to his mother, written from Liverpool, he asks her to keep his letters in order to facilitate the compilation of his book, which he summarises as '[l]etters home and lessons learned in a year and a day' (I, p. 6). As a scholar, Campbell evidently resorts to the use of a log or journal to record his experiences. Inspired by the writings of prolific travellers such as Captain James Cook, Mungo Park, or William Burchell, Campbell's writing is in accord with the predominant 'scientific' discourse of travel writing during the nineteenth century, where observational methods supposedly resulted in an objective description of the foreign.[5] As Robert Crawford remarks, Campbell's account is outstanding because it is 'perhaps the first artistically crafted Scottish literary account of a world tour'. Crawford goes on to point out that 'Campbell emblematizes that internationalism and sensitivity to other cultures which is strong in several of the most fascinating Scottish Victorian writers'.[6] A motivation for this sensitivity might be found in the fact that Campbell was a Gael and as such would probably have witnessed internal marginalisation of Gaelic culture in light of an allegedly superior Anglo-Saxon culture. In general, however, British travel writing between 1830 and 1880 – and Campbell is no exception – is predominantly characterised by imperial confidence.[7] This is the other side of Campbell's writing: apart from descriptive and seemingly 'objective'

passages, there are also parts where he is judging from an authoritative, markedly Eurocentric position.

The British Empire provides a vital orientation for Campbell's journey. All territories and countries that he visited, with the exception of Japan, had experienced European colonisation and had been under British control for at least some time. Campbell notes the large scope of Scottish emigration in particular, emphasising the economic potential that this provided for his compatriots. For example, in reference to the USA, he states that '[a] Mullman is here, and lots of other Scotchmen, who are all flourishing. Amongst these grand hills [Cheyenne Canon] they seem as happy as kings' (I, p. 47). And of Ceylon he writes: '[t]he whole land appears to be colonized by Scotchmen, and they are all making coffee and fortunes' (II, p. 136). Apart from the possibility of becoming prosperous, Campbell also notes that this high level of Scottish migration facilitates a familiarisation of foreign places: he describes Ceylon as 'a sort of tropical Scotland, wet and warm amidst my clan and old friends' (II, p. 142). The high level of globalisation that Campbell witnesses is evident in the many dispersed people of various nationalities whom he encounters on his trip (and whom he often describes in detail). The high number of Europeans in those overseas countries suggests a domestication of the foreign, exotic landscape:

> My landlord was bred a priest and came here from Dijon in 1849. […] His runner is a Piedmontese, his waiters Irish, his housemaid is a darky with white blood, her help is a Chinaman, with a long black tail, in full costume. […] A cattle driver was from Staffordshire, another is a Kentish man. I saw Spaniards and Mexicans, and Portuguese lately. (I, p. 96)

Campbell sums up this observation by stating: 'In short, here is an epitome of the world' (I, p. 96). This fact is also visible in the many different languages Campbell encounters. On several occasions he draws comparisons to the story of the tower of Babel (I, p. 69; I, p. 154). But at the same time, he notes that the English language unifies the various immigrants: 'The

tribes of the earth have come here, but *for some reason* they selected English as their common speech' (I, p. 127; my emphasis). This suggests a relatively impartial point of view because it does not presuppose that English is adopted as a common language due to an inherent superiority over all other tongues.[8]

By continuously drawing out the diversity of the people he encounters, not only in the USA but also in Asia, Campbell underlines his positive evaluation of the imperial project. Emigration from Europe to the United States in particular is a topic for much reflection for Campbell. Although the USA had been independent for some time when Campbell visited in 1874, their society was still dominated by white, predominantly European settlers whose engagement with Native Americans can still be characterised as colonial oppression. Campbell describes the living conditions of American emigrants with the principle of the survival of the fittest as laid out by Charles Darwin: 'This is a grand country for men with brains to migrate to. But it's not all velvet. […] Natural selection of the strongest and the fittest has made this strong population by slaying the weak' (I, p. 38). In his letter 'To Intending American Emigrant, Esquire, Anywhere', he warns of wrong expectations but also strongly advocates the chances that the United States offer (I, pp. 119–24), stating that he would gladly emigrate himself if he were younger (I, p. 97). Implicitly, this also enforces his positive view of the *British* imperial project, which he likewise sees predominantly as an access route to prosperity.

However, despite all these opportunities that emigration offers to Europeans, Campbell also notices their continued allegiance to their native lands, which prompts him to reflect critically on the question of nationality in an increasingly globalised world. On many occasions he points out that the emigrants are still Europeans: 'While it rained I sat under a shelter and jawed with the natives, who are chiefly natives of Europe' (I, p. 57). This leads him to the question of whether allegiance to the United States can ultimately supersede the attachment to a person's native land, making them 'Americans proper' instead of merely American citizens: 'The guests come from all parts of the world. What I want to know is, admitting all these to be citizens of the United States, where are the Americans?' (I, p. 71). Campbell

remains sceptical when, in California, he witnesses a goodbye dinner in honour of emigrants moving on to Mexico:

> Fine, tall, hearty fellows they were, well-dressed thriving men, a credit to their several native lands and to their adopted country. But to me […] there was something strange and incongruous in this sentiment addressed to Californian 'emigrants:' – 'May they always act up to the principles of their State wherever they go, so that men may say of them, "They are good men. They are Californians"'. (I, p. 75)

The idea of European emigrants becoming 'Californians' seems strange to Campbell, who has witnessed the strong allegiance to their respective homelands during his travels. These considerations of nationality are closely related to Victorian notions of race. Towards the end of the nineteenth century in particular, the concept of monogenesis was challenged by polygenetic theories.[9] Campbell's scepticism towards emigrants becoming 'Californians' suggests his subscription to racial theory as outlined, for instance, by his fellow Scotsman Robert Knox, who is of the opinion that nationality and inherent racial qualities cannot be altered by emigration:

> With me the Anglo-Saxon in America is a Saxon, and not a *native* [*original emphasis*]: the Celt will prove a Celt wherever he is born, wherever he is found. The possible conversion of one race into another I hold to be a statement contradicted by all history.[10]

Thus, Knox also questions the viability of the colonial enterprise by being critical of emigration: a notion certainly not shared by Campbell who is sceptical of changing national affiliations but endorses emigration.

Although Campbell notes the diversity of different nationalities, and thus an increasing globalisation, he does not question the fact that this globalisation does not work as an equalising force. This suggests that Campbell was influenced by Victorian theories that proclaimed the

inferiority of certain 'races' (black people in particular), notions that were often cited to justify Britain's colonial endeavours. But on the surface, Campbell believes globalisation to be positive for every 'race', which becomes evident at a coffee plantation in Ceylon where he notes: 'Here I am […] surrounded by Scotchmen and Indian coolies, and strangers of all shades from black to white, all come here to coin yellow gold out of brown beans grown in red cherries which men drink as coffee' (II, p. 142). Despite this extended metaphor for the mixing of colours, Campbell ignores the fact that not everyone profited equally from globalisation – in his example, for instance, Scotsmen who came to Ceylon as plantation owners prospered at the expense of the Indians whom they employed as unskilled labourers.

Throughout the two volumes, Campbell exhibits an ambivalent relationship towards the racial 'Other'. On the one hand, he is respectful and displays a cosmopolitan world-view that seems to be underpinned by the belief in the universal equality of humanity. On the other hand, there are several instances where his behaviour seems informed by Victorian prejudices and racism. In the US, Campbell seems to keep an open mind towards the Native Americans; he is genuinely interested in their way of life and their traditions. He makes several sketches of 'Indians' and even includes the numerals of a Native language in one of his journal entries. But at the same time, he does not recognise the Native Americans as equals. This is obvious, for instance, in scenes where he tries to sketch people without asking their permission first. In Puget Sound, Washington, he records a memorable encounter with 'a wild, picturesque woman' (I, p. 111) and her small children. He offers the woman a cigarette, whereupon she flees towards the shore and '[t]he eldest little girl stopped, stooped, picked up a big pebble, and with a face of rage, terror, and wild fury, she lifted her little arm to shy at me' (I, p. 112). Ultimately, the girl drops the stone and runs away. This incident leads Campbell to an unexpected conclusion: 'This small incident tells ill for the white bearded men of this region. They must be ill neighbours to these wild critturs [*sic*] of the Puyallop River at the end of Puget Sound and the beginning of civilization' (I, p. 112). But despite this statement that seems to respect the Native Americans as human beings, he constantly exhibits

strategies of dehumanising the 'dark races' by locating them outside civilisation. Sometimes, dehumanisation is done in a comparatively subtle way, as when he objectifies Native Americans as 'picturesque'; at other times it is done more bluntly, for instance when Campbell compares them to animals by stating that two women he meets are 'as scared as deer' (I, p. 73). In Ceylon, this strategy of dehumanising the indigenous people by comparing them to animals is intensified when Campbell describes them as bronzes and statues: 'The boys and children are often beautiful, and the whole lot are beautifully formed, like bronze Apollinos and black Apollos and Venuses of all the best-known kinds, large and small' (II, p. 127). The aestheticising of darker-skinned Asians in comparison to Native Americans also reveals the descriptions as exoticising.

However ambivalent Campbell's descriptions of non-white people might be, his general attitude towards black people is lined out very early in a letter to his mother written from Boston, offering a general description of African Americans, illustrated by a comparison to the Irish:

> Here are niggers and no Irish, and they seem to be born waiters without much brains. […] A whole army of [blacks] were drawn up sunning themselves […] Every shade of black and brown, every variety of cross, shines through their queer, quiet faces. […] But no amount of dilution seems to make a blacky white enough to keep a hotel, or own a shop, or do anything that an Aryan does. […] But the potato man may in time, for he has brains to be educated, while darky's head is like that of the Neander-thal man who was like a monkey. (II, pp. 26–27)

This line of argumentation that denies black people any individual agency again underscores Campbell's imperial mindset that does not question the legitimacy of colonialism at all.[11]

In addition to the increased mobility of people that leads to the described encounters of various 'races' and cultures, Campbell witnesses an alleged proliferation of European ideas during his travels, being particularly interested in the different political systems he comes across. His evaluations

suggest an unambiguous support for British colonialism and European imperialism in general. In Asia, he contrasts Dutch-ruled Java with British-controlled Ceylon: 'The Javanese looked awestruck and bullied. The Sinhalese look like mild-eyed, marmoset monkeys – happy and content. The naked children ran after the mail and cheered; even the native curs cocked their tails impudently, and barked with British independence' (II, p. 127). Furthermore, the description of Ceylon's status as an instance of 'British independence' is a testament to his conviction that British colonialism is nothing but benevolent. The superiority of a European-influenced way of life is further consolidated in China when he describes the Chinese as 'rogues and dirty dogs and disagreeable' (II, p. 68), while asserting that '[a]s servants they were quite excellent' (II, p. 87). In Shanghai, Campbell only feels better when he visits the European districts of the city (II, p. 71).

Accordingly, Campbell gives a positive evaluation of the US and Japan, since the former is an ex-colony still very much influenced by the European settlers and the latter recently started to adapt its political system to Western standards. The concept of the 'American Dream', of everyone being able to make something of themselves, is ever present in Campbell's description of everyday life. He also highlights the republican way of life adopted in the United States, and applauds its principles of equality and liberty – although these, as many of his descriptions and evaluations reveal, only extend to white people. This is, for instance, evident in the modes of travelling that Campbell describes: 'I took the cars instead [of the fiacre], and paid five cents […]. That is Republican. If anybody chooses to be an "Aristo" and hire a fiacre, he must pay for a hack. I drove Republican fashion' (I, pp. 39–39). This might also imply a conviction that an evolution towards a more republican and libertarian political system might be desirable in European states like Britain as well.

Despite this political difference between the USA and various more hierarchical European states, Campbell experiences the USA as considerably influenced by Europe, and this essential sense of kinship also seems to influence his positive assessment of the USA. By contrast, his first encounter with Japan gives him a considerable culture shock (I, p. 176), and his belief in the superiority of the Western world-view again becomes clear. He tries

to record a different way of life, different customs as well as the landscapes he encounters, but ultimately supports 'modernisation' initiatives that seemed to bring Japan more in line with 'superior' European models. Although he is eager to encounter 'authentic' Japanese culture that has not been influenced by European customs (see, for instance, II, pp. 6, 30), he is not bothered by the disappearance of this culture but appreciative of the changes that he describes as far-reaching:

> The great interest in Japan is to see a whole people changed within ten years. They have changed their habits and their clothes. They have railroads, gas, telegraphs, and steamers, an army and navy, and national debts, paper-money, and wide-awake hats. (II, p. 63)

Several years before Campbell arrived in Japan, the country had undergone a significant transformation that resulted in the immense changes that Campbell describes. On 3 February 1867, the Emperor Meiji took the throne and later initiated the 'modernisation' of Japan, called the Meiji Restoration. This 'Dai Nippon Teikoku', the Greater Japanese Empire, lasted until 1947. In order to design the new state order, Meiji employed the Iwakura Mission in 1871. This mission had two goals: first of all the officials and delegates tried to re-negotiate treaties which disadvantaged Japan. The second goal was the gathering of information on European and American technology, political and social structures, education systems, and so on. This was eminently successful, and a westernisation of Japan followed: the constitution was modelled on Germany's, and the parliament became an anti-feudal bicameral institution. These developments led to economic success as well as to unparalleled military strength, which made Japan the only non-Western world power at that time. Campbell argues that Japan could only attain that status by taking over European traditions: when talking about the political conflict between China and Japan, he asserts that

> the dwarf had beaten the giant as usual. Japan, which got civilization from China long ago, had got better civilization from Europe, in the

> shape of artillery and breech-loaders and tactics, and being so full of pluck and self-sufficiency, as all little people seem to be, Japan pitched into China and won. (I, p. 260)

Campbell is very interested in, and appreciative of, the changes made in Japan. His note that Japan makes an interesting subject for political studies (I, p. 246) might hint at the universal potential he sees in spreading European ideas.[12] In general, he sees the far-reaching reforms as positive, even calling them a 'revolution', particularly when discussing the question of the future state religion, since Buddhism no longer holds this status:

> It was decided that Christianity and all other forms of belief should be tolerated. […] Meantime Buddhist priests and Christian congregations worship under the same roof, in the same temple, at the same hour, in Tokio [*sic*]. All is change, toleration, and simplicity […]. The body politic of Japan is growing into shape. The circulation is growing along roads and rails, and telegraphs are the nerves; the infant mind is growing under the culture of schoolmasters and Westerns [*sic*]. (I, pp. 334–35).

By painting the Europeans as role models for Japanese development, Campbell also makes use of a trope still common today: Europe is seen as having reached the ultimate step of development which other nations can only achieve by undergoing the same development. Campbell exemplifies this with Japanese views on torture, which he compares to the European Middle Ages. During an evening spent with Europeans and Japanese, Campbell notes: 'Then came politics, and social science, and torture, and then began a curious argument worthy of European middle ages. […] As barrister, I simply stated the old practice and the modern opinion of Europe' (I, p. 275), ignoring the prevailing use of torture even by 'modern' Europeans, for example in the British colonies.

Although Campbell also points out the vanishing of old traditions and the destruction of temples, historic sites, and landmarks, this does not

trouble him, as he focuses on the advantages the political changes had for foreigners and travellers, namely increased security and the opportunity to make a bargain. He describes a shopping tour to a slum:

> At each shop a serious grave crowd gathered round us, men, women, and babies, and now and then a policeman, with a long stick, drove them away. But nobody showed the least incivility or unkindness. Ten years ago men rode these streets escorted by soldiers, and murders and outrages abounded. (I, p. 239)

Apart from improved security and travel opportunities for foreigners in general, Campbell has another, more individual reason to appreciate the abolition of old traditions: it allows him to buy 'curiosities' and antiquities cheaply. For the European traveller, buying arts and antiquities abroad was a way to demonstrate good taste at home.[13] He makes extensive use of the chance to buy antiquities at low prices:

> [T]he dress of the better classes has turned European, consequently every second shop has some old cast off thing to sell, and the big ones are museums. […] The temples were dismantled; some were burned, consequently I find great carved beams, and gilt dragons and idols and images fit to make cornices of, going for a dollar or two. (I, p. 237)

During his stay in Japan, which at the beginning seemed so strange and foreign to him, Campbell notices several instances that to him suggest a common origin of the cultures of the world. He describes this when looking at artistic designs in Japan that he links to the Western tradition (I, pp. 345–46). Campbell is further astonished when he sees 'Christmas trees' decorated with flags, fruit, and lobster, which are erected to celebrate the New Year (I, p. 354). While visiting some remote parts of Japan he argues that the similar traditions could not have been the effect of Western influence:

> These Japanese islands have been closed to the world. I walk into the hills, where western influence has been least felt, and find all these western customs, which are fading away at home, in full force as real eastern habits and pagan customs; and once more I am driven, by another road, to some common origin in the old world, for all these human inventions and customs. (I, p. 351)

His theories of a common origin of humanity are reinforced by his experiences in relation to folk tales, his specialist subject. Towards the end of the second volume, Campbell's reflections on myths and stories and their dissemination serve as a conclusion to his journey. He notes the universal character of storytelling:

> It is the custom all over Eurasia to tell stories for pastime […]. True it is that many of these stock stories had gotten into written books long ago; but many never were in any book that I know, and seem to be as widely spread as the rest. (II, p. 199)

Thus, Campbell regards the increasing globalisation as uniting separate parts of the globe that allegedly always shared a common basis, again framing this development as a narrative of progress catalysed by the West.

An important mode of disseminating these stories all around the globe – and, accordingly, to witness these unifying tendencies – was to travel, as '[m]en and myths migrate together' (II, p. 201). Campbell often reflects self-consciously on the function of travel. For him, travelling is done for 'the sake of knowledge' in general (I, p. 149). This idea seems suspicious to many people he meets, so he is repeatedly asked whether he has a more practical purpose for his voyage, for instance as a vendor for silks or pictures: 'The idea of any idle body travelling to spend coin for the sake of knowledge never seems to occur to these Californians and "Webfoots" of Oregon' (I, p. 149). When he buys his ticket for the sea passage to Japan, he notices that he is not the only Brit to make such a journey and finds himself categorised as a 'globetrotter' (I, p. 144). Campbell reflects on the high extent of

globalisation that he encounters on his journey in a letter to a fellow traveller, written during the passage to Japan after witnessing numerous times the mixing of nationalities and cultures:

> That which is patent to the student's eye, even in this haze of obscurity, is not an exhibition of Anglo-Saxon energy or of Celtic fire in America. It is not something divisible by the quarters of the globe, so that a scientist can affix to it a technical nomenclature appropriate because geographical. It is neither 'Eurasian', nor 'Africarian', nor 'Columbian'. It is a Cosmopolitan movement. The intermediate Oregonian state is not an ethnological phenomenon. It does not spring from the special energies of separate races of men, for it is neither Aryan nor Turanian, though it partakes of both, and is also African and Semitic, and aboriginal and autocethenal and original. (I, pp. 161–62)

In this passage, Campbell appears to write back to Victorian race theory and indeed contradicts his own statements on the inferiority of black people, since he emphasises that the mixing of a variety of people plays a key role in Oregon's success. Furthermore, he underlines that it is not the Europeans on their own whose 'energy' can be held responsible, honouring the contribution of indigenous people to this 'cosmopolitan movement'.

This cosmopolitan world is, according to Campbell, held together by the shared culture of capitalism:

> Those who can buy will buy what they want if they can, and those who can sell, will take their cattle to market. Rich American masters want servants, and mistresses maids; China can supply the market, and all the hands in California cannot shut the Golden Gate against the law of the strongest. (I, p. 168)

Here again, the world is described in Darwinian terms, which Campbell applauds. Although he is aware of the downside of capitalism, for instance when witnessing the clearing of forests in Japan (II, p. 14), this is tolerated

for the sake of 'progress', that is, the advantages and profits that capitalist society seems to promise. It is again the methods of the unpopular Chinese that Campbell uses to illustrate the questionable ways that a globalised world allows for trade: 'Silks are sent from France to get the Chinese marks, and return to be sold in Paris as Chinese silks' (II, p. 86). His criticism becomes more explicit when he relates the instance of a sought-after engineer working as a carrier in Japan: while '[i]t seems like cutting sticks with a razor to turn watchmakers into ponies', Campbell rates this as a common side effect of the positive changes in Japan when he laconically continues: '[b]ut men, like ponies, must eat to live, and the revolution turned everything heels over head, as usual' (II, p. 45).

Rather than envisaging this economic system as being primarily structured along national lines, Campbell notices that trade and movement of people and money progressively transcend borders: 'Hands grasp round the world, and heads scheme for their own corporations, and the strongest gobble up all they can grasp' (I, p. 169). Thus, Campbell presents a rather modern image of a globalised world, particularly when he predicts a world state as the future modelled on the republican and libertarian ideas of the United States:

> It seems that I am watching the crystallization of small atomic concretions to form a larger body by the attractions and repulsions which drag and drive humanity like other gregarious things, and which tend to combine all men in one great future coming United State according to some philosophers here. (I, p. 162).

But Campbell's writing reveals a major difference to modern conceptions of cosmopolitanism. Whereas today the idea of cosmopolitanism is mainly based on accepting others in their similarity while respecting their differences,[14] Campbell's idea of a world state and of a cosmopolitan traveller as a citizen of the world is quintessentially equal to being a *European* citizen of the world who supposedly represents a superior and thus universal way of life. Although Campbell's views are limited by Victorian theories of race,

his writing also exhibits more progressive tendencies where he seems more ambivalent about racial hierarchies – and, thus, appreciative of a globalised world that results in a mixing of nationalities and races – and where he anticipates, at least to some extent, more forward-looking concepts of cosmopolitanism.

Notes

1 John Francis Campbell (ed.), *Popular Tales of the West Highlands, Orally Collected*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1860–62).

2 John Francis Campbell, *My Circular Notes: Extracts from Journals, Letters Sent Home, Geological and Other Notes, Written While Travelling Westwards round the World, from July 6, 1874, to July 6, 1875*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1876). Further references to this book are given after quotations in the text.

3 There has been a notable rediscovery of cosmopolitan theories in the twenty-first century. A growing number of scholars criticise cosmopolitanism as an essentially Eurocentric concept that ignores the negative effects of globalisation, such as forced mass emigration or new forms of slave labour (see, for instance, Gurminder K. Bhambra, 'Cosmopolitanism and Postcolonial Critique', in *The Ashgate Companion to Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Maria Rovisco and Magdalena Nowicka (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 313–28). The result of this debate is the subdivision of different concepts of cosmopolitanism, for instance rooted, ethnic, or vernacular, or most recently subaltern cosmopolitanism. A survey of subaltern cosmopolitanism is provided by Minhao Zeng, 'Subaltern Cosmopolitanism: Concept and Approaches', *The Sociological Review*, 62 (2014), 137–48.

4 J. W. J., review of John Francis Campbell, *My Circular Notes* (1876), *Nature*, 13.338 (1876), pp. 481–82 (p. 481).

5 Roy Bridges, 'Exploration and Travel outside Europe (1720–1914)', in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 53–69 (p. 57).

6 Robert Crawford, *Scotland's Book: The Penguin History of Scottish Literature* (London: Penguin, 2007), p. 474.

7 Bridges, p. 53.

8 This scepticism about linguistic hierarchies may also be related to the fact that the question of accents and their value was a delicate issue for Scots. After the Union of Parliaments of 1707, many Scots tried to hide their accent in order to succeed in the new British state. See, for instance, Robert Crawford, *Devolving English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 16–44.

9 See, for instance, Edward Beasley, *The Victorian Reinvention of Race* (London: Routledge, 2010).

10 Robert Knox, *The Races of Men: A Philosophical Enquiry into the Influences of Race over the Destinies of Nations*, 2nd edn. with supplementary chapters (London: Renshaw, 1862), p. 20.

11 The lack of compassion for marginalised societies and cultures may be deemed surprising in Campbell's case, since he, as a champion of Scottish Gaelic culture, must have

been aware of the latter's internal marginalisation in Britain. While the lack of comparisons between, for instance, Native Americans and Gaels might be due to a strong sense of 'racial' difference, the devaluation of the Irish seems more surprising in view of the fact that Irish and Scottish Gaels were often seen as 'fellow Celts'. However, in a wider context, it is not unheard of that the downtrodden do not necessarily develop compassion towards fellow subalterns – in this light, Campbell's stance seems much less surprising than it might appear at first.

12 Later on, Campbell makes the qualification that such a transformation was only possible because unlike black people, 'Japanese humanity is capable of instruction as well as of self-culture' (I, p. 323).

13 James Buzard, 'The Grand Tour and After (1660–1840)', in *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Hulme and Youngs, pp. 37–52 (p. 40).

14 See, for instance, Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: Norton, 2006).

6. Nineteenth-Century Argentine Literature and the Writings of R. B. Cunninghame Graham

RICHARD NILAND

R. B. Cunninghame Graham's Argentine sketches are characterised by the literary and political traits discernible throughout his oeuvre. These include a sceptical attitude to modernity and progress, an ability to render an evocative autobiographical encounter with changing traditions and cultures, and scrutiny of the evolution of national and imperial politics in Latin America. Graham's early experiences in Argentina occurred amidst the increasing reach of global networks of economic and cultural exchange in a period when 'globalization occurred parallel and simultaneously to state-building'.[1] Engaged in a process of modernisation that saw the promotion of the Argentine Republic on to expanding world markets, 'prevailing opinion', as David Rock has noted, 'held Argentina to be a land of boundless natural riches and frontier wildernesses, and the stirring Colossus of the South, destined infallibly to become one of the world's great nations'.[2] While earlier British writers and travellers, such as Woodbine Parish, Charles Darwin, and Francis Bond Head had surveyed the lands known to them as 'the Argentine' in the troubled periods following its independence, Graham arrived in Argentina in 1870 at one of these moments of potential and promise. As such, he embodied the enterprising European who might fulfil the dreams of a metropolitan Argentine culture that looked to immigration as a means to offset the indigenous traditions of the country supposedly holding back its progress.

In the preface to *Redeemed, and Other Sketches* (1927), Graham recalled that 'I might have ended my career a great cattle king'.[3] Drawing attention to his time in a nineteenth-century Argentina 'ordered by cattle culture'[4] and dominated by the memory of the authoritarianism of the *caudillo*, Graham's work engages with a number of significant Argentine writers who shaped the economic and cultural climate of the country in these years.

The most prominent of such figures is Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, perhaps the single most 'representative figure of the relentless drive toward modernity in Spanish America'.[5] A politician, statesman, and prolific writer, Sarmiento was an influential member of the Argentine generation of '37, which included the literary and political luminaries Esteban Echeverría, Juan Bautista Alberdi, and Bartolomé Mitre. Sarmiento's life and writings encapsulated the most important facets of opposition to the populist authoritarian rule of Juan Manuel de Rosas, who led the Argentine Confederation from 1826 to 1852. With the fall of Rosas in 1852, the generation of '37 came to prominence, promoting a programme that looked to international, and especially British, capital for Argentina's economic development, while trusting to all things French for its cultural refinement.

Writing of Graham's literary engagement with the divisive cultural climate of Argentina in the nineteenth century, Laurence Davies has noted that 'in view of the partisan and didactic strain in Argentine literature, Graham's South American sketches seem remarkably reluctant to take sides'.[6] At the same time, however, Graham's writings consistently oppose the politics of Sarmiento and his attitude to modernisation. In many respects, this is inevitable, as the shadow of Sarmiento and his ideas looms over nineteenth-century Argentine and Latin American postcolonial culture. Sarmiento's celebrated work *Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism* (1845), a text directly referenced by Graham in *A Vanished Arcadia* (1901) in the context of the economic development of the region, formulated the most influential nineteenth-century Latin American approach to progress, modernity, and national development. Ostensibly treating the life of Juan Facundo Quiroga, a powerful regional *caudillo*, Sarmiento's thought emerged directly from the political and cultural divisions of the Rosas era. One of the structuring principles of *Facundo* is its notion that the twelfth and nineteenth centuries are problematically contiguous in Argentina, with the latter having the duty to eradicate the former:

> In the Argentine Republic two distinct civilizations can be seen on the same ground: one nascent, that without an understanding of what is held above its head, is repeating those ingenuous and popular

> movements of the Middle Ages; the other, ignoring what lies around it, seeks to bring about the latest achievements of European civilization. The nineteenth and twelfth centuries live side by side: the one within the cities, the other in the countryside.[7]

As a response to this unhappy meeting of disparate worlds, Sarmiento made his position clear four years later with the publication of the first volume of his *Viajes*, in which he presented his vision of a progressive future when

> all Christian peoples will be a single people, united by railroads and steamships, with a postal service connected from one end of the earth to the other, with the same dress, the same ideas, the same laws and constitutions, the same books.[8]

By 1868, when he was elected president of the Argentine Republic, Sarmiento was in a position to implement these ambitions. In his final message to the national congress in 1874, he cited his key achievements as a rise in immigration, the growth of public education, the expansion of the railroad, and a three-quarters rise in the volume of handled mail, thereby celebrating the forces that theorists such as Benedict Anderson have seen as integral to the emergence of the modern nation-state in the nineteenth century.[9] While Sarmiento's Argentina embraced infrastructural expansion, territorial consolidation, and progressive education, such policies were achieved at the cost of the suppression of Argentina's indigenous peoples. As Carlos J. Alonso has observed, Sarmiento's 'executive actions and his many texts provided the ideological justification for the genocidal war against the Indians of the pampas',[10] known as the Conquest of the Desert, and which gathered pace significantly in the 1870s. Contemporary texts promoting Argentina to potential European investors and immigrants sought to assuage fears of a barbarian Other on the Argentine plains by announcing the demise of ethnic and cultural difference. *Les Pampas de la République Argentine* (1878), published to accompany the Argentine presence at the *Exposition universelle* in Paris in the same year, noted the heterogeneous diversity of Argentina's indigenous culture but made clear its homogenised destiny:

> [T]he tribes of the Pampas, Pinzen, Ranqueles and Pehuenches will be forced to become the guests of their civilised neighbours, in the expectation that the example of work, and the well-being which is its reward, leads them to become truly Argentine.[11]

Just as Graham's experiences of North America had left him conscious of the fate of the Sioux as the United States expanded westward, he also directed sympathetic attention to the culture of indigenous Argentines, who 'lived almost exactly like the Gauchos'.[12] 'Los Indios', from *A Hatchment* (1913), recounts how the 'terror and romance of the south frontier were centred in the Indian tribes' (p. 20), but, in its detailed attention to indigenous culture and practices, it delineates a response to the Conquest of the Desert in tune with important Argentine treatments of the consequences of expansion. Lucio V. Mansilla's *Una excursión a los indios ranqueles* (1870), which responds in important ways to Sarmiento's politics, explores the richness of the culture being eradicated, observing that 'these barbarians are neither as barbarous nor as obtuse as many people believe' and that 'our civilization has no right to be so arrogant'.[13] Graham's 'Los Indios' concludes by accepting that '[t]hose times are gone' (p. 33), drawing attention to the march of the nineteenth-century state, and also capturing the elegiac tone that had characterised Graham's Argentine sketches since *Father Archangel of Scotland* (1896). That collection had featured 'A Vanishing Race', treating the culture of the gaucho, a 'strange compound of Indian and Spaniard', threatened with changes that would lead to his disappearance: 'As the Gaucho replaced the Indian, the European colonist will replace him, one more type will have faded from the world.'[14] In this respect, Graham's writing on Argentina can be associated with the work of American photographer Edward S. Curtis (1868–1952), whose striking series of photographs of Native North Americans, produced to record threatened traditions, began publication in these years, opening with an image of the Navajo horse riders, and likewise entitled 'The Vanishing Race'.

Graham subverts Sarmiento's binaries of civilisation and barbarism by celebrating a compound of sophistication and 'savagery'. Viewing the gaucho as 'a link between ourselves and the past',[15] he surveys the encroachments

of the present, offering modernity as the advance of a lettered culture in possession of contemporary forms of exchange and value. These forms promote a system of signs and a mode of communication that eradicates inherited ways of reading and writing:

> Bolas, lazo, Gaucho, Indian all will soon have gone, if to Trapalanda[16] I know not, but I hope so. Men will rob in counting-house and on exchange with pen and book, instead of on the highway with *trabuco* and *facon*. The country is getting settled, I have little doubt; cheap Spanish Bibles will soon be forced on those who cannot read them […]. Instead of the quaint announcements of strayed horses, signed by the Alcalde, on the *pulperia* [a country store or trading post] door, [will appear] a smug telegraph clerk at the wooden wayside station.[17]

Consistently drawn to an Argentina removed from the Buenos Aires that Sarmiento regarded as a civilising force, Graham observes 'customs [that] survived from Spain, and not from modern Spain, but from the Spain of the pre-revolutionary age'.[18] Turning away from Buenos Aires, Graham charts the rapid changes taking place in the countryside. In 'Paja y Cielo', in *Faith* (1909), he writes that '[n]ow, the whole Pampa […] is cut into innumerable chess-boards of wire fencing, and railways puff across it, taking up wool and corn and hides, and other merchandise to send to Europe'.[19] While lamenting Argentina's further integration into networks of trade often controlled by the informal imperialism of economic liberalism and international capital, Graham's wider sense of the geography of Argentina, emerging from his own experience crossing borders and cultures between Uruguay, Brazil, and Paraguay in the 1870s, positions him against the controlling forces of regional imperialism, state-formation and *letrado* culture.[20] In 'The Horses of the Pampas', from *Father Archangel of Scotland*, Graham places the gaucho and his traditions indeterminately within the '900 miles of territory from Buenos Ayres to the Andes', or travelling from 'the frontier of Bolivia to Patagonia'.[21] Discussing Graham's sketches in the context of 'anarchist geopolitics', Christopher GoGwilt has noted that 'whereas imperialist geopolitics makes the state the fixed position for

geopolitical analysis, anarchist geopolitics recognizes the state as only part of a larger, more complex interaction of nature and humankind'.[22] Alongside Graham's historically nomadic gaucho, 'Paja y Cielo' registers this approach when it observes the geography of the Pampas, noting that the contemporary world, in which 'man appears a giant, controlling everything', was obliterated on the Argentine plains. In the iconic landscapes of gaucho culture, 'man was relegated back to his position as but one of the many animals, with but a little more intelligence than theirs'.[23] Frequently portrayed by British writers of the early nineteenth century as deprived of the infrastructure essential to the building of state and empire, for Graham the flat expanse of the Pampas and its traditions, while now under threat, are to be celebrated for their longstanding ability to resist the upheavals of progress.

If Sarmiento stands as a counterpoint to Graham's politics in a Latin American context, then the legacy of Juan Manuel de Rosas and his association with the 'barbaric' customs of the interior and gaucho culture should also be noted. Known as the 'Restorer of the Laws' during his years of power in the 1830s and 1840s, and notorious for his cruel elimination of political opponents, Rosas was emblematic of the traditions of the gaucho turned *caudillo*, whose destruction Sarmiento saw as necessary to the modernisation of Argentina. Violent, authoritarian, and popular,[24] Rosas had a shaping influence on representations of violence and brutality in nineteenth-century Argentine literature, from Esteban Echeverría's celebrated *El matadero* (1871),[25] which made the *matadero* (abattoir) synonymous with execution and the rule of Rosas, to Hilario Ascasubi's poem 'La refalosa' (1843),[26] which refers to 'playing the violin', a euphemism for throat cutting, and a form of death identified with the violence of gaucho culture in Graham's sketches, notably 'A Silhouette', in *Faith*.

In 'La Pulperia', from *Thirteen Stories* (1900), Rosas is evoked with an almost spectral power as different generations of gauchos meet at the *pulpería*. Graham frequently focuses on the exchanges that occur at this nexus of gaucho culture, and the *pulpería* acts as a fitting theatre for the equestrian, sartorial, and musical displays that occur there. Additionally, extravagant and bloody demonstrations of skill and strength with weapons constituted the symbolic violence of gaucho culture, and, as John Charles

Chasteen has explained, such violence operated in a highly expressive manner, forming 'a common coin of social relationships in borderland society'.[27] In 'La Pulperia', a fractious old veteran of the 1830s and 1840s, who was Rosas's 'right-hand man', recalls the memory of his leader, stating that 'even the Gauchos […]. were dominated by his brute fury'. After provoking the old man's ire by mentioning Justo José de Urquiza, who deposed Rosas in 1852, the sketch concludes with Graham 'impelled by the strange savagery inherent in men's blood or by some reason I cannot explain' to gallop 'furiously upon the plain' shouting 'Viva Rosas'.[28] While Rosas's rule in fact initiated many of the developments that characterised the modernisation of Argentina later in the century, such as the growth of a cattle economy and a war upon indigenous peoples, the capacity for the memory of Rosas to evoke elements of the pre-modern Argentine past remained with Graham and with those drawn to major transitional moments in Argentine culture. In June 1919, W. H. Hudson, the Anglo-Argentine writer and naturalist, wrote to Graham labelling Rosas a 'tremendous man', while later that year he wrote again saying 'I join with you in a *Viva Rosas!*'.[29]

While Rosas himself is central to nineteenth-century Argentine literature and politics, the wider culture of the gaucho and a range of gaucho texts especially enrich Graham's Argentine sketches. Graham's reminiscences are accompanied by references to Argentine literary classics, such as José Hernández's *Martín Fierro* (1872; 1879) and Estanislao del Campo's *Fausto* (1866).[30] Graham's immersion in, and familiarity with, these literary contexts is unsurprising, since the period of his travels in Argentina saw the publication of a range of newspapers, novels, and poems that used the figure of the gaucho as a means of articulating the political divisions of Argentine society. Such texts formed part of a literary lineage traceable through the nineteenth century in the work of authors such as Bartolomé Hidalgo, Hilario Ascasubi, José Hernández, Estanislao del Campo, Eduardo Gutiérrez, and Rafael Obligado, amongst others. As William Garrett Acree, Jr has explained, 'authors of gauchesque verse tapped into a common set of popular cultural referents',[31] and Graham seeks to draw from this broad literary tradition in his writing. Graham's initial foray into gaucho writing was to have been a historical study, a form with which he was to become

familiar throughout his career in studies of various periods and figures from Latin American history. However, through Hudson, whose own writings on gaucho culture, such as *The Purple Land* (1885)[32], had offered portraits of gaucho life and travels in Uruguay, he was directed to another style, the impressionistic sketch.

Writing to Graham in 1894, Hudson observed:

> And now about your project of writing a historical sketch of the Gauchos. […] If you could get up a book containing mainly your own impressions of Gaucho life and character, on the lines of the French work 'La Pampa,' and well-illustrated (like that work), it would, I think, stand a better chance of success than a historical book.[33]

French author Alfred Ébelot, who had surveyed the transformations of the Argentine frontier during the 1870s, opened his preface to *La Pampa* (1890) with a strain that appears frequently throughout Graham's own sketches. Ébelot observed that 'the rapid transformation of the Argentine Republic gives these pages a melancholy interest and a sort of historical value'.[34] In drawing from Ébelot, who offered short treatments of aspects of Argentine culture under titles similar to those employed by Graham, such as 'La pulperia' and 'Le velorio', Graham positioned himself alongside figures who offered a realistic antidote to existing images of the gaucho. As Laurence Davies has noted, Graham generally 'tried to make Argentina credible'[35] to British readers, writing against the context of boys' adventure novels such as G. A. Henty's *Out on the Pampas* (1871) and Captain Mayne Reid's *Gaspar, the Gaucho* (1880).[36] The culture Graham had experienced in his youth risked radical transformation, and the process was encouraged by Argentina's emerging embrace of the gaucho as a symbol of the nation, drafting his image and form in the service of the very forces that guaranteed his demise. In *Letters from the Battle-Fields of Paraguay* (1870), Richard Francis Burton wrote of the gulf between the gaucho as he existed in Argentina and the culturally approved contemporary version of 'the Gaucho, who has been hopelessly vulgarized by the last Great Exhibition'.[37] Graham was far from

being a kindred spirit with Burton, whose *Letters from the Battle-Fields of Paraguay* was dedicated to Sarmiento and his commitment to progress in Argentina. Nonetheless, in *Success* (1902), Graham likewise drew attention to the transformation of original articles when these were repackaged for the promotion of national interests: he writes of 'the fetid atmosphere of an "exhibition" (admission sixpence), [containing] a counterfeit presentment of arts and industries'.[38]

If the journey of the gaucho from the open spaces of the Pampas to the confines of the Exhibition hall is one too difficult to contemplate for Graham, then his sketches are more at ease charting how a culture associated with lived history and oral tradition is transmitted into literature. His first book, *Notes on the District of Menteith* (1895), presented a memorable image of both a living and a dead gaucho:

> Once between Villaguay and Nogoya, in Entre-Rios, the writer of this brief chronicle came, in a little clearing of the great forest of Montiel, on two brothers, one living and one dead, jogging at the 'trotecito' ['at a little trot'] on their horses. The living brother, a fine young Gaucho, upright and swaying with his horse, like only a Gaucho, the dead one just as upright, tied in his saddle to two sticks. The object of the journey to bury the deceased.[39]

Graham's sketches are especially attuned to what is living and what is dying in gaucho culture, and this subject holds a prominent place in Argentine writing. If Sarmiento's *Facundo* was concerned with burying the gaucho, in the sense of seeing the demise of his political and cultural power, it ironically initiated a process of enshrining him at the centre of Argentine literary tradition. As such, *Facundo* occupies a singularly influential place in gauchesque writing, to the extent that Josefina Ludmer has written that Sarmiento '*is* the genre; he marks its frontiers and traces its history'.[40] While *Facundo*'s reach spreads over much of nineteenth-century Argentine literature, other important works explore this subject in different ways. Estanislao del Campo's long narrative poem *Fausto* (1866), mentioned in a number of Graham's sketches, charts the gaucho's journey from his traditional habitat

to the centre of Argentine urban literary culture. Structured as an exchange between two gauchos, Anastasio and Laguna, the former of whom has inadvertently wandered into the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires during a performance of Charles Gounod's opera *Faust* in 1866, the poem sees this emblematic figure of rural Argentina negotiate the literary and artistic culture of Buenos Aires. In delineating the contrast between urban and rural, the poem's literary and political tensions are structured around competing reminiscences of the gaucho's encounter with the physically constricted but imaginatively limitless space of the theatre, and his memories of the geographically boundless space of the Pampas which are conveyed through the tropes of gaucho texts.

While *Fausto* makes a number of short appearances in Graham's writing, by far the most important work in his engagement with Argentine literature is José Hernández's *Martín Fierro*, which stands as a pivotal moment in the history of writings about the gaucho. A consideration of the text's place in Argentine literary and cultural history has become a rite of passage for Argentine writers and critics, with this process initiated by figures such as Ricardo Rojas and Leopoldo Lugones in the early twentieth century, and later continued by writers such as Jorge Luis Borges and Ezequiel Martínez Estrada.[41] Published in two parts as *El Gaucho Martín Fierro* (1872) and *La Vuelta de Martín Fierro* (1879), Hernández's poem charts the experiences of its titular character as he deals with economic hardship, the law, conscription, and the increasingly powerful role of the Argentine state. Part 1 ends with the departure of Fierro and his friend Cruz for the frontier to live amongst the indigenous population. Part 2, considerably longer, documents the return of Fierro and his encounter with his sons, concluding on a note of conciliation with the forces of modern Argentina. Conceived as a poem of protest against the conscription of the gaucho and the changes being imposed in his nomadic lifestyle, Jean Franco has outlined the importance of the work's publication in the 1870s:

> Most remarkable of all was the popularity of the poem, not in intellectual circles but amongst the ordinary people, some of whom learned it by heart and repeated it to the illiterate gauchos on the

> *estancias*. Seventy-two thousand copies were sold in seven years and by 1878 an eleventh edition of the first part of the poem, the 'Ida,' was brought out. In 1879, the second part of the poem 'La vuelta de Martín Fierro' [The Return of Martín Fierro] was published and five impressions of 4000 copies each appeared in 1879 and 1880. These numbers speak for themselves at a period in which novels and poems by distinguished writers reached only a handful of readers. José Hernández was unique in breaking down the barrier that separated the literary élite from the mass public.[42]

Graham engages with the narrative of the poem by employing it as an accompaniment to the events recalled in his own reminiscences in 'La Pulperia'. The violent confrontation between two gauchos recounted by Graham in this sketch also operates as a pastiche of similar moments recounted in the *payada* sequences of *Martín Fierro*, which relate the verbal and physical confrontation between duelling gaucho songsters. In 'A Vanishing Race', Graham also signified his presence in Argentina in the 1870s at a moment when Martín Fierro was beginning his journey from text to oral legend, establishing his place first in the culture of the gauchos and subsequently in the wider Argentine national imaginary:

> In the long evenings, seated round the fire, passing the mate round, the adventures of Martin were sure to be discussed. The Gauchos seemed to take him as an embodiment of themselves and all their troubles (surely the greatest test a poet has of popularity), and talk of him as if at any moment he might lift the mares' hide which acted as a door and walk into the hut. Those of the company who could read (not the majority) were wont to read aloud to the unlettered from a well-worn greasy book, printed on flimsy paper in thin and broken type, after extracting the precious books from the recesses of their saddle-bags, or from their riding boots. The others got it by heart and then repeated it as a sort of litany. (p. 178)

Evidence abounds of the work's importance to Graham, both for its poetic quality and its evocation of his own past. Enrique Espinoza (Samuel Glusberg),

in *Tres clásicos ingleses de la Pampa* (1951), positioned Graham alongside Hudson and Francis Bond Head as the three major English-language writers on Argentina, establishing his place in a tradition that could be linked to *Martín Fierro*. In 1934, Graham had written to Espinoza saying: 'When I was young I knew long sections of it and used to love reciting it.'[43] In 'Los Indios', he recalled knowing 'the whole book by heart, taking my turn for a hundred lines or so, round the camp fire' (p. 26). *Martín Fierro*, it can be argued, therefore helped shape aspects of Graham's literary style, for, as he observed in the preface to *Mogreb-el-Acksa* (1898), he frequently 'tried to write after the fashion that men speak over the fire at night, their pipes alight, hands on their rifles, boots turned towards the blaze'.[44] 'Los Indios' also acknowledged the importance of *Martín Fierro*'s representation in illustrations and the place of the work in Graham's personal canon of artistic masterpieces:

> The wood engraving, primitive and cheap, in which Cruz and Martin were shown jogging on at the Trotecito wrapped in their *ponchos*, driving the *tropilla*; and with the foal, looking like a young camel, bringing up the rear, is quite as well fixed in my memory as is the picture of the Conde Duque, the Emperor Charles the Fifth at Mulhouse, Las Hilanderas, or any other work of art. (p. 26)

This emphasis on the closing lines of the more economical first part, *El Gaucho Martín Fierro*, is also evoked in 'A Vanishing Race', in which a gaucho must 'cross the mysterious shifting line known as the frontier and sojourn for a while amongst the Indians' (p. 177).

The politics of this flight from the state is not overlooked in Graham's sketches. Josefina Ludmer has explored the centrality of the gaucho and the gaucho genre to modernity in Argentina, observing three distinct features of the genre as it negotiates the boundaries between history and literature: the use of the delinquent gaucho by the patriotic army through military impressment, the use of his oral register by the learned culture (the gaucho genre), and the subsequent use of the genre to integrate gauchos into the 'civilised' law of the established state. The form itself constitutes a '*treatise on modernisation*',[45] and, as such, in his allusions to the classic works of

Argentine writing, Graham employs the gaucho as a fitting vehicle for conveying his impressions on the transitions to modernity and the unfolding of contemporary history. In 'A Vanishing Race', Graham draws attention to the subjected gaucho body in the service of the state:

> To be on foot was his idea of the greatest misery. A paternal Government sentenced murderers, horse thieves, and other miscreants, not to death – why rob the Republic of a man? – but to serve so many years with infantry. Miserable enough that infantry sometimes was, and those who served in it comparable as to fortune with the Christian captives who, in the Middle Ages, rowed in Turkish galleys. (p. 173)

The vanishing Gaucho, formerly a potent political entity – 'I knew him but twenty years ago a force, a maker and unmaker of presidents, a stirrer up of revolutions, a very turbulent fellow' – is eclipsed by history, deprived of his lawless power to be a law unto himself: 'soon to be forgotten […] Gaucho and horse, Indian with feathered lance, will go'.[46] As the gaucho once journeyed across the frontier beyond the reach of military service and the state, now he must travel into the realm of literature, but increasingly this will constitute not escape but another form of capture. In 'Facón Grande', in *Mirages* (1936), his final sketch, Graham recalled the figure of one Martin Villalba, who, through his death in life and his resurrection though memory, moves into 'that fair land of the imagination' to 'become the "compadre" of Don Segundo Sombra, Martin Fierro, and the immortal rider of El Fausto'.[47] Drawing here on a pantheon of gaucho texts that extends into the twentieth century to include Ricardo Güiraldes's elegiac *Don Segundo Sombra* (1926),[48] Graham reads modernity as a series of valedictory transitions from life to literature in a gesture that reflects the shifting position of the gaucho in Argentine society.

In 'Le Chef', from *His People* (1906), Graham wrote of the half-Argentine, half-British Benitez Wilson, a person with the 'strange double view of the mixed-blooded man, which makes him never quite at home with either race, and an eternal stranger in the land',[49] while 'Charlie the Gaucho', from

Mirages (1936), told of an Englishman returning to Argentina to die with the gauchos, presaging Graham's own final journey and reflecting on the longstanding transatlantic exchanges that had informed his life and writings. Central to Graham's Argentine sketches is his intermeshing of two cultures, British and Argentine, which in turn reveal themselves to be composed of multifarious competing cultural traditions, each striving for its place in a modernity shaped by Graham's understanding of progress. Graham, like Hudson, transcends his origins in his rendering of nineteenth-century Argentina, existing between cultures, and in this respect his life and work embody a chief characteristic of Latin American literature. As Roberto Ignacio Diaz has observed, 'much of Spanish American literature may be read as an intersection of the domestic and the foreign, a place that is, in that sense, both homely and unhomely'.[50] In drawing on Argentine literary and political history to inform his autobiographical sketches, Graham's writing enters the contested spaces of Argentine culture to document those deprived of their traditional home by modernity, allowing Don Roberto to cast his keen horseman's eye on what is past, or passing, or to come in the world of the gaucho.

Notes

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3 R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Redeemed, and Other Sketches* (London: Heinemann, 1927), p. 9.
4 William Garrett Acree, Jr, *Everyday Reading: Print Culture and Collective Identity in the Río de la Plata, 1780–1910* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011), p. 46.
5 Carlos J. Alonso, *The Burden of Modernity: The Rhetoric of Cultural Discourse in Spanish America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 50.
6 Laurence Davies, 'Cunninghame Graham's South American Sketches', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 9 (1972), pp. 253–65 (p. 261).
7 Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Facundo* (1845; Buenos Aires: Terramar [n.d.]), p. 49.
8 Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Viajes por Europa, Africa y América, 1845–1847, y diario de gastos*, ed. Javier Fernández (Buenos Aires: Colección Archivos, 1993), p. 123.
9 See Roberto Cortés Conde, 'Sarmiento and Economic Progress: From *Facundo* to the Presidency', in *Sarmiento: Author of a Nation*, ed. Tulio Halperín Donghi and others (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 114–23; and Benedict Anderson,

Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (new edn., London: Verso, 2006 [1983]).

10 Alonso, p. 62.

11 John le Long, *Les Pampas de la République Argentine* (Paris: Extrait du Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, Mars, 1878), pp. 8–9.

12 R. B. Cunninghame Graham, 'Los Indios', in *A Hatchment* (London: Duckworth, 1913), pp. 19–33 (p. 28). Further references to 'Los Indios' are given in parentheses in the main text.

13 Lucio V. Mansilla, *A Visit to the Ranquel Indians*, trans. by Eva Gillies (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), pp. 113, 239.

14 In G[abriella] Cunninghame Graham and R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Father Archangel of Scotland, and Other Essays* (London: A. & C. Black, 1896), pp. 166–84 (pp. 166, 167). Wherever possible, subsequent references to 'A Vanishing Race' are given in parentheses in the main text.

15 'A Vanishing Race', p. 167.

16 Trapalanda, also known as the City of the Caesars, was a mythical South American city, a site of reward and plenty purportedly located in Patagonia.

17 'A Vanishing Race', pp. 183–84.

18 R. B. Cunninghame Graham, 'Le Chef', in Graham, *His People* (London: Duckworth, 1906), pp. 64–95 (p. 73).

19 R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Faith* (London: Duckworth, 1909), p. 138.

20 See Angel Rama, *The Lettered City*, trans. by John Charles Chasteen (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996).

21 *Father Archangel of Scotland*, pp. 146–65 (p. 162).

22 Christopher GoGwilt, *The Fiction of Geopolitics: Afterimages of Geopolitics from Wilkie Collins to Alfred Hitchcock, 1860–1940* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 46.

23 *Faith*, pp. 139–40.

24 See John Lynch, *Argentine Dictator: Juan Manuel de Rosas, 1829–1852* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

25 See Esteban Echeverría, *El matadero; La cautiva*, edición de Leonor Fleming (Madrid: Cátedra, 1986).

26 See Hilario Ascasubi, *Paulino Lucero* (Paris: Imprenta de Paul Dupont, 1872).

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28 R. B. Cunninghame Graham, 'La Pulperia', in Graham, *Thirteen Stories* (London: Heinemann, 1900), pp. 163–75 (pp. 174, 175).

29 *W. H. Hudson's Letters to R. B. Cunninghame Graham*, ed. Richard Curle (London: Golden Cockerel Press, 1941), pp. 101, 103.

30 See José Hernández, *Martín Fierro*, Introducción, notas y vocabulario de Eleuterio F. Tiscornia (Buenos Aires: Losaada, 2005); and Estanislao del Campo, *Fausto: Impresiones del gaucho Anastasio el Pollo en la representación de esta ópera* (Buenos Aires: Stockcero, 2004).

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34 Alfred Ébelot, *La Pampa: Mœurs sud-américaines* (Paris: Zulma, 1992), p. 20.
35 'Cunninghame Graham's South American Sketches', p. 264.
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37 Richard F. Burton, *Letters from the Battle-Fields of Paraguay* (London: Tinsley, 1870), pp. 147–48.
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41 See Ricardo Rojas, *La literatura argentina: Ensayo filosófico sobre la evolución de la cultura en el Plata,* Vol. I: *Los Gauchescos* (Buenos Aires: Coni impresora, 1917); Leopoldo Lugones, *El Payador: Hijo de la pampa* (Buenos Aires: Otero, 1916); Jorge Luis Borges y Margarita Guerrero, *El 'Martín Fierro'* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Columba, 1953); Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, *Muerte y transfiguración de Martín Fierro: Ensayo de interpretación dela vida argentina*, 2 vols (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958).
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43 Enrique Espinoza, *Tres clásicos ingleses de la Pampa* (Santiago de Chile: Babel, 1951), p. 70.
44 R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Mogreb-el-Acksa: A Journey in Morocco* (London: Heinemann, 1898), p. viii.
45 Ludmer, *Gaucho Genre*, pp. 8, 68 (original emphasis).
46 'The Horses of the Pampas', p. 164.
47 R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Mirages* (London: Heinemann, 1936), pp. 167–82 (pp. 176–77).
48 Buenos Aires: Editorial Proa.
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50 Roberto Ignacio Díaz, *Unhomely Rooms: Foreign Tongues and Spanish American Literature* (London: Associated University Presses, 2002), p. 79.

7. R. B. Cunninghame Graham and the Argentinean *Angelito*

JENNIFER HAYWARD

In 1899 – the same year that Joseph Conrad published *Heart of Darkness* – R. B. Cunninghame Graham's short story 'Un Angelito' appeared in his collection of fifteen short pieces on the Argentine pampas, *The Ipané*.[1] On the surface, the story is nothing more than a quick sketch of a local tradition: holding a wake to celebrate the death of a young child, or angelito. But this strangely moving little story also speaks to the rapid cultural changes of *fin de siècle* South America, mapping the disappearance of Argentina's gaucho culture in tandem with the encroachments of European modernity. In the process, Graham develops an interrogation of empire, progress, and temporality as deeply ambivalent as anything in his friend Joseph Conrad's work.

Graham's restless journeys through South America honed his empathy for marginalised peoples and vanishing traditions; he depicted the pampas through a post-Romantic lens as permitting the persistence of a 'wilder' spirit, one able to revitalise human senses and sympathies destroyed by urban and commercial life. Deeply embedded in Hispanic culture from his childhood thanks to his Spanish grandmother and widely read in South American history, he wrote not only travel sketches but also histories of the continent. Literary scholar John Walker argues that 'no one has captured better the adversities and triumphs of the governor than Graham in *Pedro de Valdivia* (1926), one of his several historical biographies of Latin American figures'.[2] Still more strikingly, in 1872 Graham rode on horseback six hundred miles up the river Parana to the Iguacu Falls to research the early Jesuits in Paraguay, who both patronised and protected the Guaraní 'Indians'. He published his findings – which for their time were remarkably sympathetic to the Guaraní – in the book *A Vanished Arcadia*.[3]

While multiple factors combined to produce Graham's unique perspective on South America, one clear source is his national identity. As a Scot,

Graham had lifelong sympathy for marginalised peoples; he also turned his gaze homeward, working to preserve Scotland's culture from vanishing into a homogeneous 'Britain', and being active in the Scottish home rule movement. From his perspective, then, the confrontation between indigenous traditions and European modernity looked quite different than it did to travellers who identified more fully with the imperial subject position. Graham's negative perspective on Empire (both British and Spanish) led to his determination to draw attention to social injustice and shaped his commitment to recapturing the history and traditions of other cultures before they vanished forever.

This is not to say that his own life, travels, and writings did not retain a strong imperial flavour; they certainly did. But his writings on South America are nevertheless distinct from the mainstream travel writing of his day, which tended to cleave more closely to an imperial assumption of superiority on the part of the travelling (generally European) subject. By contrast, Graham's work anticipates the theories of Clifford Geertz and others in emphasising 'thick description' of local traditions, told from the perspective of a narrator who is often hybrid or otherwise marginalised himself.[4] This narrative approach and perspective makes him strikingly perceptive for his time and place. As Joseph Conrad – himself known for revealing hidden darknesses – confessed to Graham: 'When I think of you, I feel as tho' I have lived all my life in a dark hole without seeing or knowing anything.'[5]

Relatively little attention has been paid to the influence of European informal empire on the developing identities of American nations, and still less to the reciprocal influence of Latin American independence on European national identity.[6] Drawing on both Latin American and Scottish perspectives on Graham, this chapter will situate the iconoclastic Scotsman's story in the larger context of European travel writing in South America in order to explore his unusual vision of South American culture, investigating his border-crossings as he mapped the disappearance of Argentina's 'authentic' gaucho culture in response to the encroachments of European modernity. I will argue that Graham's travels, and his consequent meditations on change, modernity, and empire, are directly connected to his own hybrid Scottish

identity and to his growing support for home rule in his own country, with its uneasy relationship to empire.

Graham's story 'Un Angelito' plunges us immediately into an interminable, exhausting journey across the pampas with a herd of half-wild horses: 'All day we had been riding over the […] prairie of Buenos Ayres, between the mountains of Tandil and […] the trail which led to Bahia Blanca' (p. 36). The narrator establishes a strong sense of place and temporality, capturing the vertiginous emptiness of the pampas by locating them in a dizzying no-man's-land between mountain and sea and describing them as a 'sea of grass' relieved only occasionally by signs of life – as when, the narrator tells us, 'an ostrich now and then scudded across our path, with wings spread out to catch the wind, like a ship running down the North-East Trades' (p. 37), or when 'rare travellers, seen from afar, almost hull down like ships upon the sea' (p. 37). The maritime metaphors build a portrait of plains as vast and timeless as an ocean, while the conflation of the animal and the human – the occasional ostrich and the rare traveller – is heightened through the common simile of a ship running before the wind.

Immediately after this opening, Graham captures the restless movements and character of the horses, further reinforcing our sense of a narrator fully enmeshed in a world he describes from the perspective of a working participant rather than a distanced observer:

> [O]ne [horse is] difficult to mount, another almost impossible to catch, and when caught, worth nothing but to fasten to a stake at night to drive the others up on, in the morning; and one but fitted, as the Gauchos say, to make a perch for a wild bird. (pp. 36–37)

The narrator's perilous crossing dominates the story; we do not encounter the *angelito* of the title until fully halfway through. And when the child does finally appear, it receives only the briefest of descriptions, as we will see. Ultimately, the dead child becomes the absent centre of the story, standing in for the larger cultural loss that was taking place – unmourned and almost unnoticed – all around it.

Before turning to Graham's account of the *angelito*, I will situate the figure in the larger context of its representation in nineteenth-century travel writing. As Edward Said has pointed out, 'stories are at the heart of what explorers and novelists say about strange regions of the world'.[7] Accounts of Latin American *angelitos* became one of a number of possible travel-writing set pieces in the nineteenth century. The Latin American tradition of holding a wake for a dead infant often shocked European visitors: they saw only the body of the child dressed in its best, painted in an uncanny imitation of life, hung on a wall or propped in a chair, and surrounded by raucous revellers. Descriptions of the small bodies of these children, depicted as helpless, desecrated victims of Catholic excess, circulated through newspapers, travel literature, and other texts, developing clear conventions as writers built on the foundation of earlier accounts. Writers ranging from Ida Pfeiffer and Edmond Reuel Smith in mid-century to William Howard Russell, May Crommelin, and (as we will discuss shortly) Alfred Ébélot at its end all featured variations on the *angelito* tale.[8]

Smith, a North American artist and clerk for US naval expeditions, depicted a Chilean child's wake in considerable detail in 1855:

> The most prominent object was a kind of altar, set round with lighted candles, and ornamented with tinsel flowers. In the midst of these sat the figure of an infant, of the size of life, profusely painted with red and white, dressed in tawdry finery, and adorned with gauze wings.
>
> 'It is only the image of some saint,' I thought, and was turning away; but a second glance convinced me that there was something unusual about the figure. The hair looked very natural; those eyes were strangely vacant and filmy; even the finger-nails were perfectly formed. There seemed to be 'too much of art for nature, yet too much of nature for art;' and I approached to scrutinise it closely. It was *a corpse!*[9]

Smith's confusion between an inanimate saint and the body of a child anticipates Freud's theory of the Uncanny, which asserts in part 'that a

particularly favourable condition for awakening uncanny feelings is created when there is intellectual uncertainty whether an object is alive or not, and when an inanimate object becomes too much like an animate one'.[10]

The uncanny magnetism of the *angelito* becomes clear when we recall that in nineteenth-century South America, child death was all too common.[11] Nevertheless, in his account, Smith goes on to contrast the grief of Anglo-American 'bereaved mothers' as 'refined', while condemning the behaviour of Chilean parents as 'revolting' (p. 92), and in the passage above he dismisses the supposed 'saint' by echoing common constructions of Catholic saints as signifying excess, tawdriness, and often lower class status as well, when seen through Protestant eyes.

As an early and extended account, Smith's was particularly influential in establishing the conventions of the *angelito* tale. Not surprisingly, as the travel narrative becomes a popular genre, narratives begin to appropriate – openly or silently – images and descriptions from earlier writers. All too often, and particularly in Anglo-American travellers' tales, this and later descriptions of the *angelito* seem intended to crystallise sharp contrasts between the self-proclaimed morality and modernity of the writer's own culture, and the primitive superstition of Latin Americans.[12] Towards the end of the century, in the era of high imperialism, travellers began to code the practice by using British racial distinctions; for example, they often labelled the practice as 'Celtic' rather than 'Saxon' and compared it to Irish wakes.[13]

Ultimately these accounts set up an echo chamber that, by confirming each other, reinforced the Anglo-American colonists' belief in their own moral superiority. The fact that observers were so strongly compelled to reject the practice of the *angelito* as one that Dickens's Podsnap would term distinctly 'Not English!'[14] underscores the instability of Victorian culture itself. The small figure of the child became a site onto which to project the shifting anxieties of empire, revealing far more about their Anglo-American authors, and about Victorian anxieties, than about Latin American views of childhood or even about the practice of the *angelito* itself.

If the insights of Chilean anthropologists are applied to Edmond Reuel Smith's and other travellers' accounts, however, ironically we see that their

sensationalised depictions of *angelitos* mark them as incompetent readers.[15] A brief history of the practice of celebrating rather than mourning a young child will help to clarify this gap in interpretation. Brought to the New World with the Spanish conquistadores, Catholic doctrine specified that a young child who dies whilst still in the age of innocence is assured direct passage to Heaven; therefore, its death should be celebrated rather than mourned. This Spanish belief (itself a syncretic combination of Judeo-Christian, Roman, Greek, and Muslim origins) accorded well with a wide range of indigenous beliefs in the Caribbean and the Americas: that new life awaited the dead, that food and drink should be sent with the mortal remains in order to provide sustenance for that new life, and that the afterlife would be happier than life on earth, free of pain, and spiritually advanced. The Catholic tradition of holding a wake to celebrate rather than mourn the death of a young child melded with these indigenous mourning practices to produce the *angelito*.

While the specifics vary by country, the essentials are similar: when a young child died, the corpse was dressed in finery, positioned in a shrine, and celebrated with a *velorio* or wake that included song, dance, and other manifestations of joy. In some regions parents were actually forbidden to shed tears, which would wet the wings of the *angelito* and thus delay the child's successful flight to heaven. Interestingly, the *velorio del angelito* persisted in Latin America long after it had died out in Spain – perhaps out of necessity, due to the extraordinarily high infant mortality that followed the arrival of the Spanish with their unfamiliar diseases and brutal methods of colonisation.

As we see in Smith's account above, the typical Anglo-American traveller wrote horrified and dismissive accounts of *angelitos*. But there were also exceptions: travellers who did not simply assume that Latin American parents were less humane than European ones, but tried to understand the tradition from its practitioners' perspective. In every case, these exceptional travellers were themselves distanced from the dominant British culture – by sex, class, ethnicity, or in some other way. For example, May Crommelin wrote an unusually insightful account of her encounter with a Chilean *angelito*, taking the almost unprecedented step of asking Chileans

themselves why they practiced the tradition – but Crommelin was not only a woman but Irish, and thus doubly distanced from the dominant imperial perspective.

In the last decade or so, postcolonial studies have become much more attuned to the importance of subordinated national or regional identities in shaping the perspective of the British abroad. Often generalised as, or even passing as, 'English', a significant proportion were not in fact English at all, but Welsh, Irish, or Scottish. Despite recent attention to Scots in empire, though, the perspectives of nineteenth-century Scottish travellers in Latin America are still underexplored – and their perceptions were often quite different from those of their English travel-writing colleagues.

As a travel writer, Graham is a key example of this hybrid narrative perspective. Of mixed Scottish and Spanish descent and bilingual from childhood, Graham was to some extent an 'outsider': simultaneously within and outside imperial networks of power. His unique sensibility as a border-crossing Scot, strengthened by the cultural awareness he developed while travelling in South America, gave him an unusual perspective on the countries he visited.

Given his own hybrid identity, then, it is somewhat surprising that Graham's account of an *angelito* seems, at first reading, to conform to travel writing convention. As John McIntyre has demonstrated, his 'Un Angelito' is closely modelled on a previously published account by the French engineer and journalist Alfred Ébélot, whose sketch 'El Velorio' (The Wake) had been published in 1890.[16] As McIntyre explains, 'the literary link between Ébélot and Graham is pinpointed by Watts and Davies', who tell the story of Graham's initial difficulties with his planned history of the Argentine gauchos: his friend and fellow South American aficionado W. H. Hudson came to the rescue by advising Graham to abandon the history and instead write a series of sketches, and by suggesting Ébélot's collection of vignettes *The Pampas* as a model.[17] Interestingly, both Ébélot and Graham landed in Argentina in the same year – 1870.

After following Hudson's advice, in 1899 Graham published *The Ipané*. The collection's third story, 'Un Angelito' follows the structure of one of Ébélot's stories quite closely, even echoing some of its imagery and

descriptions (both probably experienced a child's wake in the pampas during roughly the same time period, in the mid-1870s). In this way, Graham's *angelito* is a typical travel-writing 'set piece'.

The resemblance to Ébélot's vignette is striking. Graham even repeats characteristic phrases: for example, Ébélot describes the infant as stored in a cool room during the day and protected from flies, and Graham uses almost the same phrasing. Ébélot depicts the child's mother as having a fixed stare ('la mirada fija', p. 15), while Graham both echoes his model's description and transforms his tone by bringing that fixed stare to life: he describes the child's mother far more hauntingly than Ébélot does, capturing her in a vivid description as 'looking at nothing with her eyes wide open'.

Even while following convention, then, Graham also departs sharply from it. Unlike most of his contemporaries, he attempts to trace the indigenous beliefs beneath the Catholic ritual. Also unlike his contemporaries, he uses the figure of the dead child not to condemn Latin American 'primitivism' and 'superstition', but as a site of meaning that literally embodies the larger cultural transitions he sought to trace, particularly the damaging effects of the imperial mission.

Most notably, the tone, weight, and ultimate impact of Graham's account are all significantly different, both from Ébélot's and from those of earlier travellers. Graham's depiction of the *angelito* itself is decentred: the body of the child makes but a brief impression, which almost dissolves within a larger meditation on a journey through a vanishing landscape. The result of this diminished emphasis on the figure of the *angelito* is that Graham does not appear to criticise or recoil from the wake, as most earlier writers – including Ébélot – do. His alteration of the strongly negative affect traditionally communicated by European depictions of the *angelito* is especially pointed at the end of Graham's sketch where, as McIntyre notes, Graham becomes elegiac in tone: he mourns the encroachment of civilisation on the traditional life of the pampas.

The most strikingly original feature of Graham's account is the way the author first defers and then diminishes the encounter with the dead child. In most travellers' accounts, the body of the child is described minutely, lingering to produce an uncanny frisson in both writer and reader. By

contrast, as noted earlier, two thirds of Graham's story are over before we catch so much as a glimpse of the *angelito*. And even then, the figure does not take centre stage. Our narrator barely glances at the child – 'The "Angelito," dressed in his best clothes, sat in a chair upon a table, greenish in colour, and with his hands and feet hanging down limply – horrible, but at the same time fascinating' (pp. 42–43) – and then moves quickly on, devoting more time to the images surrounding the corpse than to the child itself. For Graham, the *angelito* is not a site of uncanny confusion between an animated child and a graven image; instead, the unmistakably decaying body of the child functions as an absent centre of this tale, both essential and unknowable.

Instead of focusing on the small body, the narrator fixates instead on the 'cheap Italian lithograph of the Madonna hung by a strip of hide from a deer's horn stuck into the wall' and two 'pious and frightful German print[s], one of the Prodigal amongst his swine, another flanking it setting him forth in better circumstances, seated in pomp between two German ladies, monstrously fair and fat' (p. 43). The implication is clear. Graham forces an unlikely juxtaposition between a commodified relic of religion, the 'cheap Italian lithograph of the Madonna', and what would now be called a 'locally sourced' artifact. The 'strip of hide' hung 'from a deer's horn' bears silent witness to Argentina's principle industry – cattle – as well as its ingenuity. Graham reinforces the critique of commercialised spirituality through his choice of adjectives: the relics of European religion are 'pious and frightful'; the Prodigal Son sits in 'pomp', surrounded by two 'monstrous' and unlikely companions. By compelling readers to confront the irony of local culture reappropriated in the service of tawdry fabrications from Europe, Graham makes the ugly and incongruous icons of European Catholicism his targets, rather than the Argentinean child in its sad splendour.

In the original story, Ébélot dismisses both the religion and the culture of the gauchos. Graham clearly echoes Ébélot's suspicion of Catholicism, exposing its hypocrisy – the tawdry surface concealing a corrupt core – not only in the scene above, but also repeatedly throughout the story. For example, after each encounter with other travellers through the sea of the pampas, the narrator and his companions 'separated with a fallacious "Go

with God," knowing full well our only trust was in our spurs' (p. 38). While seemingly a throwaway line, this aside sets the tone for a story about scepticism of religious faith, cultural transition, and the damaging effects of imperial violence.

But Ébélot ends *his* story with a line that damns the Spanish and the Argentineans equally: 'With its singular superstition and characteristic mix of brutality and poetry, the wake […] is the most curious manifestation of the Catholicism of the Jesuits interpreted by the pagans of the plains'.[18] Just as in the 'set pieces' incorporated by earlier travellers like Smith, Ébélot's ultimate message in this *angelito* tale seems to condemn the savagery of Argentineans, apparently lacking even the basic human feeling that produces grief over the death of a young child.

By contrast, Graham is far less dismissive of the 'pagans of the plains' than he is of the Catholics. Nair María Anaya Ferreira misinterprets the story's tone, I believe, in her view that Graham emphasises the Argentinean father's indifference and lack of affect in response to his son's death.[19] Rather than emphasising the father's lack of sorrow, I would argue, Graham depicts him as possessing a spirituality that trumps even his son's death: the narrator tells us that 'the conscious pride of being, as it were, in direct touch with heaven itself had caused him to forget his grief for his son's death' (p. 41). This direct connection to heaven echoes the Catholic doctrine of innocents that originally gave rise to the *angelito*, as discussed above.

McIntyre argues that Ébélot's

> distrust of religion – evidenced in his closing phrase 'los paganos de la pampa' – may blind him to the spiritual and emotional support that the original *angelito* ceremony might have provided for simple believers in times of high child mortality in remote rural areas. (p. 4)

However, in the mention of heaven discussed above, Graham implies that he does indeed understand the reasons underlying the ceremony. At the same time, he throws the binary distinction between religion and superstition – as it was generally made by Anglo-American travel writers – into sharp question: he comments acerbically that '[i]f the Christian faith was

really held by anybody in its entirety, this custom [of holding a wake for the *angelito*] would not be solely to be observed amongst the Gauchos' (p. 42).

Ultimately, Graham's sketch becomes an extended meditation on imperial encounters and the cultural extinction that results, using the iconic figure of the dead child as a *memento mori* linking the disappearing traditions of the gauchos to larger questions of technological change and encroaching modernity. In a key passage, Graham considers the ways that the encroachment of large-scale agriculture in the form of *ranchos* had altered the landscape of the *pampas*:

> A cultivated prairie cut into squares by barbed wire fences, riddled with railings and with the very sky shaped into patterns by the crossing lines of telegraphs, may be an evidence, for all I know, of progress; but of all that which makes the Pampa what the Indians imagined it when they gave the plains the name – for Pampa in the Indian tongue signifies the 'space' – no traces will be left. (p. 45)

John Walker emphasises this passage's critique of what he calls 'the triple-headed monster, Civilisation/ Commerce/ Progress, in all the manifestations that [Graham] detested – telephones, telegraph wires, fenced trails, machinery'.[20] Graham enforces negative images of technology throughout the scene: in alliteratively emphasising the ways the wild land has been cultivated, cut, crossed, and riddled with railings; in the barely concealed scepticism of his offhand remark that the increase of technology 'may be an evidence, for all I know, of progress'; and most of all in the passage's elegiac tone and in its narrator's decision, towards the end of the passage, to return the prairie to its origins, allowing the 'Indians' once more to have the naming of it.

Still more significant than Graham's critique of encroaching civilisation is his mourning for traditions that are fast disappearing. In another passage that both echoes and revises Ébélot's original, Graham muses that the figure of the *angelito*

> shows past and present linked together in a way which argues wonders, when they both make way for that unfathomable future, the fitting

> paradise for unimaginative men. From where the custom came, whether from Europe or from the Indians, or if in some form or another it is to be observed in every nation, that I cannot tell: one thing I know, that in the Pampa of Buenos Ayres it and all other customs of a like kind are doomed to disappear. (pp. 44–45)

And Graham concludes the passage in an elegiac register: 'The Indians have gone within my memory, leaving, though savages, by their disappearance a blank in the world more difficult to fill than if the works of all the Greeks had vanished into air' (p. 45). In sharp distinction from the tendency of most Anglo-American travellers of the nineteenth century to support the meliorist view that progress moves only in one direction – forward along Tennyson's 'ringing grooves of change' – and that 'savage' is always the negative term in a perpetual binary between 'savagery' and 'civilisation', Graham's perspective is far more ambivalent. The blank in his own memory expands to become a blank in the world. The Greek classics that haunted every British schoolboy, epitomising Britain's explicit identification with Greece's imperial past, are paradoxically *less* crucial to the future of the human race than the 'savages' who are fast vanishing into thin air. Graham implies multiple levels of loss while fixing on none of them. His ambiguous formulation enforces his greater points in his collection *The Ipané*: that all civilisations must acknowledge and integrate their past 'savagery' in order to create a viable future; that recorded history is in less danger of being forgotten than the oral traditions of the unwritten past; and that it is precisely because we do not know – cannot precisely identify – what we have lost with the vanishing of the 'Indians' that the world will be emptier.

At his story's close, as if to emphasise the unavoidable entanglement of the American past in the European present, Graham returns readers to their own presumably urban context, depicting an uncongenial city in which memories of the pampas sustain him like Wordsworth's 'spots of time':[21]

> In this monotony of mud and stucco, through the noise of cabs, of railways and the multitudinous sounds which rob the dweller in a

> city of any power of hearing, such as wild people have, I sometimes see my 'Angelito' seated in his chair, and wonder in what kind of heaven he is. Often have I assisted at a 'velorio,' and done my best to honour the return of some small angel to his native land. Yet this first occasion on the Tres Arroyos still remains most firmly printed in my mind. Eustaquio Medina, the wounded man lying smoking on his catre, the decomposing 'Angelito' in his chair, his mother looking at nothing with her eyes wide open, and the wild music of the cracked guitar seem to revisit me. (pp. 45–46)

By means of a quick aside contrasting the 'robbed' senses of the city dweller with the acute senses of 'wild people', Graham casually turns the usual centre-periphery relationship on its head: 'wild' South America becomes superior to a monotonous and urbanised Europe, and its small angels are restored, at least within the space of the story, to their 'native land'.

At the end of this passage, which also leads into the end of the story, Graham finally returns to the small body of the *angelito* – but with a difference. This time, the narrator claims him – '*my* angelito' – and gestures towards the indigenous roots of the tradition in imagining the return of this small angel to his native land. He quietly refutes what became the most symbolically damning accusation levelled by 'Anglo' travellers against Latin American mothers: that since they were capable of celebrating a child's death, clearly they were incapable of grief, and were therefore inhuman. In his story, Ébélot described the mother's 'fixed stare'. In sharp contrast, Graham's adaptation first vividly recaptures the warm sensual details of the scene, emphasising its function as a 'spot of time' that counterbalances the grim coldness of industrial Britain. Finally, he brings Ébélot's 'fixed stare' to life, capturing the mother's numbed grief as she 'look[s] at nothing with her eyes wide open'. And fittingly, he chooses to end his story with the landscape itself:

> Lastly, the Pampa stretching away like a great inland sea, silent and bluish under the southern stars; and rising from it the mysterious noises of the desert which, heard and comprehended, appeal to us

> in the same fashion as the instinct calling them north or south, stirs migratory birds. (p. 46)

By the time Graham published his own account of an Argentinean *angelito*, of course, the tradition had already hardened into travel-writing convention. But, instead of sensationalising the practice and depicting the *angelito* as a symbol of South American primitivism, as did most of the writers surveyed earlier in this chapter, in Graham's sympathetic eyes the small body of the *angelito* becomes an uncanny, absent centre that stands in simultaneously for Argentina's lost indigenous cultures and vanishing gaucho traditions and for the ghosts of European modernity. Writing on Graham's depiction of a vanishing past, Anaya Ferreira explains that

> to write about the pampas became a form of rescuing a tradition that had ceased to exist; through the lens of time and distance, they gained a refractory perspective […] Graham […] used South American culture as a positive element that served to measure the degradation of the Europeans. (p. 129, my translation)

Graham wrote this story on the cusp of the twentieth century – the great postcolonial century, in which nations as different as Scotland and Argentina would struggle to forge a viable future without destroying the rich traditions of the past. In this sketch of the Argentinean transition, the author develops the insight he would later apply to his own country as he worked to preserve Scotland's own 'wild' past in the process of moving towards an independent future.

Notes

1 London: Fisher Unwin, 1899, pp. 52–67.
2 John Walker, 'Chile', in *Encyclopedia on the Literature of Travel and Exploration*, ed. Jennifer Speake (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003), p. 243.
3 London: Heinemann, 1901.
4 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). See also Geertz-influenced work by theorists like Renato Rosaldo (*Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston, MA: Beacon Books, 1989)) and James Clifford (*Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986)).
5 Joseph Conrad to R. B. Cunninghame Graham, 14 January 1998, in *The Selected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, ed. Laurence Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 88.
6 Extant studies of the reciprocal influence of Europe and Latin America tend to emphasise economic or historical influence and include Peter Beardsell, *Europe and Latin America: Returning the Gaze* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Robert Aguirre, *Informal Empire: Mexico and Central America in Victorian Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Robert Kent, Vincent Ortells Chabrera and Javier Soriano Martí, *Bridging Cultural Geographies: Europe and Latin America* (Castellón de la Plana: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 2005); Matthew Brown, *Informal Empire in Latin America: Culture, Commerce and Capital* (Malden, MA: Blackwell and Society for Latin American Studies (SLAS), 2007); and Rebecca Cole Heinowitz, *Spanish America and British Romanticism, 1777–1826* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).
7 Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Random House, 1993), p. xii.
8 Ida Pfeiffer, *A Lady's Travels round the World*, trans. William Hazlitt (London: Routledge, 1852); Edmond Reuel Smith, *The Araucanians; or, Notes of a Tour among the Indian Tribes of Southern Chili (*New York: Harper, 1855); R. Nelson Boyd, *Chili: Sketches of Chili and the Chilians during the War* (London: William H. Allen, 1881), William Howard Russell, *A Visit to Chile and the Nitrate Fields of Tarapacá* (London: Virtue, 1890); May Crommelin, *Over the Andes from the Argentine to Chili and Peru* (New York: Macmillan, 1896).
9 Smith, pp. 51–52.
10 Sigmund Freud, *On Creativity and the Unconscious*, ed. Benjamin Nelson, trans. Joan Riviere (New York: Harper, 1958), p. 139.
11 Indeed, English and American colonists themselves imagined that their dead children had returned to life; see Henry Edward Swinglehurst, *Valparaíso Songs* (London: Dargan [n.d.]) and John Trumbull, *Andean Melodies* ([n.p.]: privately printed, [n.d.]).
12 In addition to Smith's *The Araucanians,* other examples include Boyd's *Chili* and Russell's *A Visit to Chile and the Nitrate Fields of Tarapacá*, among many others.
13 For the strongest comparisons between Chileans and Irish, see Crommelin; additional examples may be found in G. B. Merwin, *Three Years in Chile* (New York: Follett, Foster, 1863); Maitland, *Chile: Its Land and People* (London: Francis Griffiths, 1914); and C. J. Lambert, *Sweet Waters: A Chilean Farm* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1952).
14 Charles Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend*, 2 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1865), I, pp. 97, 107.

15 For a similar demonstration of incompetent reading on the part of European viewers, see Nicholas Mirzoeff's analysis of the French exhibition of nineteenth-century Puerto Rican artist Francisco Oller's monumental painting *El Velorio*, a depiction of a wake for a Puerto Rican *angelito*. The Salon catalogue of 1895 explained to viewers that this wake over the body of a dead child 'is an orgy of brutish appetites under the guise of a gross superstition' (quoted in Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), p. 190). Mirzoeff strongly counters this flawed interpretation by using visual evidence from the painting itself (pp. 190–93).

16 McIntyre, 'An Argentine Child's Wake, with Music and Dancing – as seen by Alfred Ébélot and R. B. Cunninghame Graham', *Fulgor: Flinders University Languages Group Online Review*, 4.3 (December 2011), pp. 1–8, ehlt.flinders.edu.au/deptlang/fulgor. McIntyre, the first to develop an extended reading of Graham's story in relation to Ébélot's, emphasises distinctions between the two in their perspectives on commercialisation and highlights Graham's literary skill and empathy for Argentinian life. By contrast, my own argument situates the trope of the *angelito* in the larger context of nineteenth-century European travel writing and argues that Graham's unusually sympathetic depiction of the mourning parents can be traced to his Scottish perspective. (Ébélot's text can be found in *La Pampa: Costumbres argentinas* (Buenos Aires: Joseph Escary, 1890), pp. 9–22.)

17 Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies, *Cunninghame Graham: A Critical Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 155.

18 'Superstición singular, característica mezcla de brutalidad y de poesía, tradición nacida – ¿quién sabe dónde? – […] el velorio es un genuine rasgo de los antiguos usos y la más curiosa manifestación del catolicismo de los jesuitas interpretado por los paganos de la pampa' (p. 17).

19 Anaya Ferreira, *La Otredad del mestizaje: América Latina en la literatura inglesa* (Mexico City: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2001), p. 131.

20 Walker, 'British Travel Writing and Argentina', in *The Land that England Lost: Argentina and Britain*, ed. A. Hennessy and J. Kings (London: British Academic Press, 1992), pp. 188–89.

21 William Wordsworth, *The Prelude* (London: Moxon, 1850), Book 12, p. 325.

8. Opposing Racism and Imperialism: Isabella Fyvie Mayo's Search for Literary Space(s), 1880–1914

LINDY MOORE

Scottish author Isabella Fyvie Mayo[1] (1843–1914) is relatively unknown in either a literary or a political context. Yet, although she was not a distinguished writer, she deserves recognition for her contribution to the literary minority who opposed racism, imperialism, militarism, and religious intolerance and showed an awareness of the impact of globalisation on both colonised countries and their conquerors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Concerned from an early age about issues of social justice and democracy worldwide, she was also one of those unusual people who become more radical and outspoken with age. Initially, she was influenced by Ruskin and a liberal Christian socialism. Later, as nineteenth-century British public opinion moved from an inclusive Christian humanitarianism to one of racial determinism and cultural imperialism, she did not follow this trajectory, but became motivated by the philosophical, religious, and political writings of Leo Tolstoy.[2]

Fyvie Mayo was born in London, of Scottish parentage. Her father came from an Aberdeenshire farming family, her maternal grandmother from Aberdeen, and her maternal grandfather from the Scottish Borders. In 1878, recently widowed, she moved from London to Aberdeen, where she lived for the rest of her life.[3] There she supported herself and her son by taking in lodgers and by continuing her writing for religious and family periodicals. She already had a literary reputation as a writer for mainstream religiously oriented publishers such as the Sunday School Union, the Religious Tract Society, S. W. Partridge, and Alexander Strahan, who between them produced periodicals such as *Kind Words*, *The Quiver*, *The Sunday Magazine*, *Good Words*, and *Leisure Hour*. Her serials, frequently appearing under the pseudonym 'Edward Garrett', were often published in Britain and the United

States as separate works suitable for gifts or Sunday School libraries and were available in the colonies.[4] Much of her writing was aimed at the growing readership of the newly literate, both children and adults. Her prose was often opaque, and there were contemporary criticisms of the lack of incident and the inclusion of excessive and commonplace details in her domestic fiction,[5] as she tried to place her narratives in the reality of everyday middle-class lives without dramatising the evils of violence, crime, or sexual immorality. Her articles were short, overly simplistic, and didactic. But although she was seldom listed in the literary biographies of the period, she was considered 'literary' by middlebrow contemporaries. Her novels and articles were frequently noticed in the provincial press. She was described as 'a famous Scottish authoress' in *The Scottish Co-operator*, and her obituary in *The Scotsman* referred to her as a well-known writer.[6] Although not the most prolific among Victorian authors, she contributed to more than seventy periodicals and wrote some thirty-eight fiction serialisations, many of which were republished in book form – five of them as three-volume novels – varying in length from twenty thousand to one hundred and fifty-eight thousand words (though most were at the shorter end of the range). She also published poetry, more than one hundred and sixty short stories, and over three hundred and sixty known articles and reviews. More await discovery. As a woman who authored didactic evangelical works published by the religiously oriented press, she was one of that numerous company of writers, editors, and publishers who contributed to the culture of the Victorian and Edwardian period through the popular press, which reached a far larger readership than the heavyweight literary reviews.[7]

In this environment – removed geographically and institutionally by her cultural background, and to a great extent by gender, from the predominantly masculine circles of political advocacy, journalism, and the academy in which the new radical intellectuals were being formed[8] – how could Fyvie Mayo pursue her evangelical belief that the best expression of vital Christianity was 'the brotherhood of all races of men, the cause of international peace, and the recognition of the rights of animals'?[9] Specifically, how could she find reliable information, an appropriate lexis, and literary or textual space(s) in which to publicise and oppose the endemic racist,

militarist, and imperialist mainstream public culture and the globalisation of capital and labour? This chapter focuses on the third of these interconnected requirements, the spaces she found – and made – in which to promote her views.

A decade after her arrival in Scotland she encountered the philosophy of Leo Tolstoy and become influenced by his insistence that individuals should speak out as their conscience dictated, regardless of the consequences. But even before this, and despite the greater conservatism of the editors of middlebrow periodicals, she found occasional spaces in her domestic fiction to indicate a wider and more critical awareness of the outside world. Often this amounted to no more than a single sentence or paragraph, but it was accessible to those who used close reading, a technique she herself had adopted for the few precious books and periodicals available to her in her youth.

The ethics of investment overseas was one issue she engaged with. Thus, an 1881 story included a reference to wealthy British people whose fortunes were 'painfully made for them by Indian coolies or Irish navvies'.[10] *At Any Cost*, serialised in the *Sunday Magazine* in 1884, included an allusion to the British bondholders of Egyptian shares, and an indictment of the immorality of offering loans to those who might not be able to repay them. Although the international financial crisis involving the Khedive of Egypt and its political ramifications, which led to a military occupation by the British in 1882, had been widely discussed in British circles, the matter was evidently too political for the periodical, or at least for its serialised fiction, and here the country in question was renamed 'New Atlantan'.[11] *Her Object in Life*, first serialised in the Religious Tract Society's *Girl's Own Paper* in 1882, included a discussion of the role of settlers and colonialists and the immorality of obtaining wealth from another country without remaining to contribute to its infrastructure and development.[12] In *John Winter* (1888) the heroine considers the potential for oppression, rather than the vaunted British 'freedom', when the prospectus of an Indian mining company announces that it controls the transit arrangements of its overseas workforce.[13]

Another issue Isabella Fyvie Mayo referred to was racism – or as she called it, 'race-pride' or 'race prejudice'. *Her Object in Life*, which was written

shortly after her arrival in Aberdeen, exposes the covert racism which some overseas university students experienced and hints at the psychological and social pressures on individuals of 'mixed race' to conform, or rather, perform, as members of the hegemonic British society. In order to do this, she offers the example of a West Indian student who passes himself off as Scottish. Later in the story she incorporates the allegation that, in India,

> young English officers and civil servants describe gentlemen better bred and educated than themselves, and of a race which was civilized when we were savages, under the general name of 'niggers'.[14]

'God's Gold' (1899) connects domestic life in England with events in Australia, including a sympathetic allusion to Chinese labourers and a vigorous defence of Indigenous Australians by a squatter who refers to the unkind or even false accounts about Aboriginal people exchanged in miners' gossip or printed in the press.[15] In *Life's Long Battle Won*, serialised in *The Sunday Magazine* (1889), the legitimacy of a young man of Scottish-Tahitian parentage is central to the plot. Aware that the evidence of 'what villains Englishmen can be' is to be seen at every foreign port, Lewis Crawford guesses his mother had been tricked into believing a marriage had taken place, but when he visits his dead father's family the laird 'laugh[s] to scorn the idea that any deception had been necessary with "a mere savage"'. Meanwhile the English clergyman, who in fact had married Crawford's parents, mutters about risky marriages, cannibals, people 'scarcely likely to have our ideas about some matters', and 'the skeleton doors of well-reputed families'.[16]

One of Fyvie Mayo's long-standing friends was Charles Bullock (1829–1911), an evangelical Anglican clergyman who edited the 'Home Words' publications aimed at lower middle-class and artisan readers. Bullock marketed *Home Words for Heart and Hearth* as a parish magazine, which could be customised ('localised') with the name of the parish on the cover and with the monthly news sheet of the local church incorporated inside the front wrapper. One of the two serialised stories by Fyvie Mayo in which racism was an integral part of the narrative appeared in this magazine in

1894. Advertised optimistically as 'a thrilling tale of race prejudice' and 'a second *Uncle Tom's Cabin*', *A Black Diamond* gives examples of racial discrimination, including a lynching and institutionalised segregation in the United States, as well as examples of more subtle racism in rural Canada, a country which Fyvie Mayo had visited in 1890. The story incorporates, anonymously, several of the experiences of African American Ida B. Wells (1862–1931), a pioneering campaigner against the lynching of black Americans, who had stayed with Fyvie Mayo in 1893. The novella is written in the first person, a device which enabled the white British readership it was aimed at to empathise with the narrator, a young white Canadian woman, as she learns about racism through the varied reactions and naive questions from herself and others of a black youth, and comes to recognise her own liberal racism:

> Is there much to choose between refusing to join a dark brother at meals, and sitting down with him as an act of condescension? – between despising him as an inferior and accepting him as equal merely as an act of kindness?[17]

The second narrative appeared in another penny-monthly periodical, *The Family Friend*. One theme in this story, about a young white American woman who is rescued from life amongst poor Southern whites by an 'Afro-American' whom she eventually marries in England, is the ill-fated consequence of an unquestioning belief in the superiority of British culture and values.[18] Although these novels are only slight, unsophisticated compositions, each of about twenty thousand words, they are rare examples of fiction about American racism in the late nineteenth century by a contemporary British woman.

From the mid-1870s, Fyvie Mayo also wrote short articles and opinion pieces on personal and social ethics which reflected her Christian socialist outlook. In an otherwise conventional account of the abolition of British slavery, which appeared in *The Quiver* in 1879, she drew attention to the existence of contemporary slavery, not only as practised by Muslim cultures (the usual target for British humanitarian and religious organisations after

abolition), but also amongst 'Christian nations'. Through the 'hiring of so-called "free labour" from people who do not understand a word of their hirer's language […] [g]reat cruelties have been practiced in enticing or coercing South Sea Islanders for labour in Australia or Fiji'.[19] In 1892 she addressed the growing public anti-immigration sentiment in Britain, as Roman Catholics, dissidents, and Jews fled from persecution in the Russification of the Balkans. Her argument adopted the older liberal humanitarian frame of reference, based on a colour-blind equality within the Empire, an ideology generally considered outdated by then, as the declining public support for the Aborigines Protection Society indicated.[20] She quoted Christian and benevolent grounds for helping foreigners, noted that workers share a common cause against tyrants wherever they were located, pointed to the benefits previous immigrants had brought to Britain, and observed that these comments about 'foreigners' did not apply to the indigenous peoples of countries in the British Empire, who were as entitled to move anywhere within the Empire as were the British.[21] This article was one of several she wrote for the *Victorian Magazine,* which was sympathetically edited by the Reverend A. B. Symington from Paisley, but the magazine was too earnest to be successful and was sold shortly afterwards. It was merged with the popular periodical *Atalanta* edited by L. T. Meade, who had a very different journalistic outlook to Fyvie Mayo and would 'write to order' on whatever subject her publishers wanted.[22] The development exemplified the difficulties Fyvie Mayo experienced in finding publishing opportunities in the popular mainstream periodicals for her more thoughtful or controversial writing on social issues.

In 1893 Fyvie Mayo found a very different place in which to express her views when she co-authored an article on the racism of lynching in a periodical called *Anti-Caste.*[23] Originating in 1888 out of the American experiences of the editor, Catherine Impey, a Somerset Quaker, *Anti-Caste* was effectively the first British anti-racism journal.[24] This was no literary masterpiece, but a small monthly paper, produced almost single-handedly by Impey to act as an information point, listing, summarising, and passing on news from sources either ignored or, increasingly, misreported by the white press news syndicates as a result of the new journalistic practice of

wiring quick summaries of news items, which in the case of incidents such as lynchings or perceived black 'outrages' were seldom subsequently checked and contextualised or corrected.[25] The two women used a cut-and-paste method, taking details of the lynchings of African Americans which had occurred in the previous three months, mainly from reliable American newspapers, as well as information about other forms of racial discrimination and 'insults' that had affected the everyday lives of black Americans.

Impey and Fyvie Mayo also founded a civil liberties organisation, called the Society for the Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man, to campaign against discrimination, whether racial, religious, or cultural.[26] *Anti-Caste* was enlarged and transformed, under the new title of *Fraternity*, to act as the organ of the society. Fyvie Mayo was very much involved in the production of *Fraternity* (which ran from 1893 to 1897), but she did not act as editor, instead approaching a London-based West Indian, Mr S. J. Celestine Edwards (1857–1894), to fill the post, as she believed that the periodical should be based in London. Her influence on the magazine was substantial, though much of her own writing was anonymous. Her authorial contributions to the magazine included a regular monthly column, 'What Concerns Ourselves in Recent Magazines', in which she reviewed articles in the British periodical press for racial content or relevance.[27] Her occasional signed contributions included one prioritising racism as a social issue, when she suggested that leading American religious, social, and philanthropic speakers should be boycotted by British audiences unless they had spoken out publicly against the racism of segregation and lynching.[28] She argued for religious toleration, opposing the Islamophobia in the British response to the Armenian massacres of the 1890s:

> There is an outbreak of 'fanaticism' possible in 'Christendom' as well as 'Islam.' There are people to-day who look on 'Islam' as it is represented by the Ottoman Turk and his massacres. But they look on Christianity in its ideal, and not as *it* is represented in the eyes of Islam and heathendom by its thefts and murders in South Africa, by its encroachments in Egypt, by its 'smothering' policy in India, and by the long 'exodus' into which it has driven the Irish race.[29]

She also had some innovative comments on Robert Louis Stevenson's writing, anticipating postcolonial critiques by referencing his historical account of the impact of European imperialism on the South Seas Islands (Polynesia) in *A Footnote to History: Eight Years of Trouble in Samoa* (1892).[30] In particular, she highlighted his plea for cultural relativism when different civilisations met, and suggested that, far from being adventure stories for boys, his fiction tales such as *Treasure Island* depicted 'what Anglo-Saxon savagery remains, when and where it can afford to drop the mask of "civilisation" and "Christianity"'.[31]

As Fyvie Mayo's contacts widened into radical, socialist, and utopian brotherhood networks in the mid-1890s,[32] she published in some of the journals produced by these organisations, such as the Labour Church's *Labour Prophet*, which had included a contribution from R. B. Cunninghame Graham three years earlier. There she pleaded for a Christian and humanitarian fraternity, but also pointed out the growing need for the solidarity of workers worldwide against global capitalism.[33] Links to brotherhood and Tolstoyan networks provided her with connections to socialists with strongly held Christian beliefs, such as Caroline Martyn and Frank Smith, both briefly editors of *Fraternity* following Edwards's death, and Keir Hardie. In Hardie's *Labour Leader*, in 1895 and 1896, she described efforts to provide a public platform for the Ashanti envoys in Britain, summarised S. C. Cronwright-Schreiner on South African politics, and attacked British militarism and imperialism.

The pre-Fabian *New Age*, which began in 1894 under a Christian socialist banner, was edited from 1895 to 1898 by Alfred Fletcher, who had previously given sympathetic space to the anti-lynching campaign, and published Tolstoy's work, whilst he was editor of the London *Daily Chronicle,* a practice he continued in the *New Age*. There was some jockeying for control of the paper in 1899, and in June a press report referred to members of the 'advanced Ethical and Radical school' resuming management.[34] Three of the five named individuals were Scottish – Fyvie Mayo, Alexander Murison, and future Labour Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald. In her writing in *The New Age*, Fyvie Mayo challenged the Anglo-Saxon concept of a racial hierarchy when she criticised a reference by fellow Tolstoyan, John Kenworthy, to

'"[t]he destruction of nations ripened for destruction" [… as] a strange echo of the voice of Chartered Company ruffians who prate of "races doomed to extinction in the progress of civilization"'. Her conception of 'race' was fluid. Her idea that there were 'no "superior" and "inferior" races, but only races of varied developments and in different stages of those developments'[35] questioned the fixed and strictly hierarchical nature of nineteenth-century racist ideology while still using racial terminology. Yet, alongside this conflation of race with culture and nationality, she could also state that there was 'but one race of men, the human race'.[36]

Fyvie Mayo had followed Leo Tolstoy's literary output closely, from her first overwhelming encounter with *A Russian Proprietor and Other Stories* in 1887.[37] As a mass of Tolstoy's writing, old and new, began pouring into Britain from various sources in a mixture of translations, she must have contacted Tolstoy's formally designated agent and close friend, the exiled Vladimir Grigor'evich Chertkov, based at the Free Age Press in England, and offered to help produce more readable English versions (although she spoke no Russian). The first of these translations was a re-rendering of *What I Believe* (1902).[38] A number of Tolstoy's polemical 'letter-articles' appeared in British newspapers, and five of those with input from Fyvie Mayo were published, in full, in *The Times* in 1904 and 1905, often taking up more than an entire page of the paper, thus placing her at the centre of the imperial metropole. In her own writing, she stressed that Tolstoy's political analysis was embedded in his religious and ethical ideology: '[t]he force of Tolstoy's teaching is wholly spiritual.'[39] She wished to emphasise the relevance of Tolstoy's analysis in a worldwide and, more especially, a British and imperial context, and in 1905 two of her notes on this appeared in a Tolstoyan-influenced idiosyncratic little periodical, *The Crank*, edited by Frances Worland and published by Charles Daniel.[40] When Tolstoy's letter-articles were published as booklets by the Free Age Press and distributed worldwide in their distinctive green paper covers, short notes by her were included in five of them. This made her the only person 'officially' permitted to interpret and comment on Tolstoy's ideas alongside his texts during his lifetime.[41] Referring to Tolstoy's *A Great Iniquity*, for example, she argued that '[t]he first duty of the British workers is to refrain from entering the Army or

Navy, these being the tools whereby their landowning class defend their own possessions at home, and exploit and seize on the land of others abroad'.[42] In the 'Notes' she referred variously to the racism in British politics, the imperialism and racism of the Churches, the bias and gagging of the press, the institutional racism of the judicial systems in India and the colonies, and the overriding of civil liberties within the Empire.

In September 1910, Leo Tolstoy's confidant Vladimir Chertkov, by then permitted to return to Russia, forwarded a last letter from Tolstoy to Mohandas Gandhi (later known as 'Mahatma') in South Africa, with a covering note of his own:

> I am writing to a great friend of mine and of Tolstoy – Mrs Fyvie Mayo of Glasgow [*sic*] – proposing that she should enter into communication with you. She possesses considerable literary talent and is well known in England as an author. It should be worth your while furnishing her with all your publications which might serve her as material for an article upon your movement.[43]

Fyvie Mayo did write to Gandhi, and he did send her material. But finding somewhere to publish this was more difficult. She was disappointed by the increasingly materialistic and party-political emphasis of the socialist organisations, and she had stopped writing for the *New Age* after it was bought by the Fabians in 1907, considering them to be wealthy people pretending to be socialists and critical of their support for the South African War. One periodical in which she did publish articles was Charles Daniel's *Open Road* (a continuation of *The Crank*), which was now also the organ of the International Fellowship of Workers, an organisation which attracted numerous socialists and was affiliated to the Theosophical Society. She had also become more closely involved with the co-operative press, informing Chertkov that the 'literature of the cooperative movement [was] particularly open to all Tolstoy items'.[44] In the *Millgate Monthly*, published by the Cooperative Wholesale Society, she gave details about the insulting and cruel discriminatory treatment of both indentured and free Indians in South Africa and the passive resistance struggle currently being waged by Gandhi

and others against colonial racism.[45] Extracts, probably translated by Gandhi, appeared in the Gujarati edition of *Indian Opinion* in April and May 1911. She also quoted extensively from Gandhi's seminal criticism of Western civilisation, *Indian Home Rule* (1910), although his book had already been banned as seditious in India.[46] In these and other articles, including one on Tolstoy in Behramji Malabari's *East and West*, published in Bombay, Fyvie Mayo referred to Tolstoy's support for Gandhi, sometimes indeed suggesting an almost mystical link between the two men, and thus contributing at an early period to the mythologisation of Gandhi, whom she referred to on one occasion as 'the revered and beloved Indian leader':[47]

> Such is the man whom the Government of South Africa hounds into gaol. Such is his book which the Government of India suppresses!
>
> Why?
>
> Is it not because, as Tolstoy indicated (in a letter to Mohandas Gandhi, written only two months before the great Russian's death), 'Governments know where their chief danger lies', and recognise that in men like Gandhi, and in such practical exemplifications of 'passive resistance' as his, they are confronted by a foe whom they will not overcome, but who will – slowly, slowly but surely, surely – overcome them, with all their privileges and bureaucracies and militarisms.[48]

For his part, Gandhi considered that Fyvie Mayo 'was one of the few true interpreters of Tolstoy's teachings, and she will be best known to the world as such'.[49]

A selective account inevitably means that there are many missing narratives in this story, some literally so. Some, such as Isabella Fyvie Mayo's letters to the press and her correspondence, are omitted because of insufficient space within *this* literary space. Some of her writing appeared in publications so marginal that it may be permanently lost, or may never be known about. Some was never actually published, because she encountered the political gatekeeping of editors, for instance during her opposition to the South African War or in her defence of African Americans. There were

also literary spaces which she chose not to use as a matter of principle, such as the *New Age* from 1907. One space which represents a deliberate exclusion by her and resulted in the consequent loss of her radical narrative is her semi-autobiographical *Recollections* (1910) in which she chose to position herself as an active, self-supporting, largely conventional woman. She had intended to publish her radical political and religious opinions in a separate, subsequent volume, an action which her death forestalled.[50]

Fyvie Mayo's vocabulary on race and racism was complex, often perceptive, sometimes conflicted, dependent in part on her sources, on editorial constraints, and on the literacy and general knowledge of her potential readers, as she responded to the varied and rapidly changing popular, scientific, and radical ideologies and terminology of her lifetime. Moreover, her political idealism, which was based on a utopian vision of creating the Kingdom of God on Earth through the brotherhood of humanity, was grounded in a belief in social revolution through personal change. This was reflected in her writing, which on many subjects was seemingly conventional, even conservative. Her early conception of the civilising mission, which combined a Carlylean work ethic with missionary zeal rather than a purely economic motivation, was based on an ideal of the British coloniser in a kind of pre-industrial Eden making rural parts of the globe productive for God while acting as an irresistible Christian exemplar for any indigenous inhabitants.[51] Like many other utopian socialists of that period her views of both the settler and of Western civilisation changed, and by the mid-1890s she was referring to imperialists such as Cecil Rhodes as individuals 'who carry abroad a "civilisation" so full of microbes of violence, oppression, and injustice, that it must poison centuries to come', while in one of her last articles she referred to '[t]hat terrible thing which we call "modern Western civilisation"' and the 'race prejudice' which it had bred.[52]

In the last decade, scholarship has indicated the collective 'amnesia' of Scottish histories and historical fiction regarding Scottish participation in slavery, imperialist invasion, and brutal colonisation across the globe.[53] This hegemonic ideology had left Fyvie Mayo believing in the Scottish achievements of anti-slavery propaganda, peaceful colonisation, heroic military prowess, and settler fortitude.[54] It was late in her life before contemporary

events and personal experiences encouraged her to question this belief and appreciate Scotland's complicity in British imperialism. When Morrison Davidson, a radical London journalist originally from north-east Scotland, published a collection of essays on Scottish independence written during the South African War, R. B. Cunninghame Graham wrote an introduction and Fyvie Mayo provided one of the commissioned responses. Her conclusion located Scotland as both coloniser and colonised: 'Those who rejoice in the destruction of other nationalities can have none of their own. Whoever helps England to trample down others, needs not grudge to feel her foot on his own neck.'[55] In person, experiences, and lifestyle Fyvie Mayo and Graham could scarcely have been more different, but their political views and contacts overlapped. In 1905 Dr George Ferdinands, a Ceylonese member of Fyvie Mayo's household whom she thought of as a surrogate son, chaired a meeting that Graham addressed on 'Socialism and Imperialism'.[56] Fyvie Mayo's prose never matched the literary quality of Graham's writing, but her passionate and compassionate concern equalled his, while her close relationship with two figures of international literary influence on pacifism, resistance, and anti-imperialism movements, Tolstoy and Gandhi, in itself suggests that she deserves a place amongst the minority of Scottish writers who opposed imperialist empires and supported 'revolutions'.

Notes

1 Isabella Fyvie retained her Scottish maiden name after her marriage in 1870 and thereafter always signed publications and personal correspondence as 'Isabella Fyvie Mayo'. Despite this preference, her name also appears in various different forms in her publications, i.e. as 'I. Fyvie Mayo', 'I. F. Mayo', 'I. F. M.', 'Isabelle Fyvie Mayo', 'Edward Garrett' (a pseudonym under which her works often appeared), and 'Isabella Fyvie Mayo ("Edward Garrett")'. Her separately published novels only ever give her name as either Isabella Fyvie Mayo or Edward Garrett, though sometimes the English and American editions vary for the same title. In the present essay, the name forms given in bibliographical references have been standardised to increase readability.

2 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'Modern Influences, III: Lyof Tolstoy', *Millgate Monthly*, 1 (1905), pp. 153–59; Lindy Moore, 'From Russia with Love: Tolstoy, Gandhi and Isabella Fyvie Mayo', *Text. Book. Publishing*, 2 (2014), pp. 56–71, cyberleninka.ru/article/n/from-russia-with-love-tolstoy-gandhi-and-isabella-fyvie-mayo [accessed 13 April 2016]. (Differences in journal formatting styles mean that several quotations have not been indicated as such in this article.)

3 Lindy Moore, '"A Notable Personality": Isabella Fyvie Mayo in the Public and Private Spheres of Aberdeen', *Women's History Review*, 22 (2013), pp. 239–52.
4 Different editions may have identical text but differing pagination, or have differing text but identical or similar pagination. Many editions are undated.
5 For example, see 'Literature', *The Scotsman*, 17 August 1869, p. 6; 'Editor's Table', *Appletons' Journal: A Magazine of General Literature*, 10 May 1873, p. 637, name.umdl.umich.edu/acw8433.1-09.216 [accessed 10 April 2016]; 'Literature', *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 1 November 1887, p. 2.
6 William Diack, 'Isabella Fyvie Mayo, a Famous Scottish Authoress', *The Scottish Co-operator*, 30 January 1903, pp. 93–94; 'The Late Mrs Fyvie Mayo: A Well-Known Writer', *The Scotsman*, 14 May 1914, p. 6.
7 *Victorian Periodicals: A Guide to Research*, ed. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel, 2 vols (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1978–89), II (1989).
8 Douglas Lorimer, *Science, Race Relations and Resistance: Britain, 1870–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 210.
9 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, *Recollections of What I Saw, What I Lived through, and What I Learned, during more than Fifty Years of Social and Literary Experience* (London: John Murray, 1910), p. 170. Like R. B. Cunninghame Graham, she opposed hunting. She measured the ethics of other cultures by their treatment of animals, suggesting that, likewise, non-Christians saw Christianity as represented by the various forms of violent and aggressive behaviour of the British overseas, including the introduction of 'cruel sports'.
10 Isabella Fyvie Mayo (writing as Edward Garrett), *Family Fortunes: A Domestic Story* (London: Nelson, 1881), p. 228. Republished as *Right at Last; or, Family Fortunes, a Tale* (London: Nelson, 1886).
11 Isabella Fyvie Mayo (writing as Edward Garrett), *At Any Cost* (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, new edn [n.d.]), pp. 176–80.
12 Isabella Fyvie Mayo (writing as Edward Garrett), *Her Object in Life* (New York: Dodd, Mead, [1883(?)]), pp. 122–27, 331–37.
13 Isabella Fyvie Mayo (writing as Edward Garrett), *John Winter: A Story of Harvests* (London: Partridge, [1888]), pp. 159–60 (first serialised in *The Welcome* (1887–88)).
14 *Her Object in Life*, pp. 117–22, 132–33, 333–36 (p. 336).
15 Isabella Fyvie Mayo (writing as Edward Garrett), 'God's Gold', *Home Words for Heart and Hearth*, 29 (1899), pp. 3–7, 27–31, 51–55, 75–80, 99–105, 123–28, 147–52, 171–75, 195–200, passim, esp. pp. 77, 79–80, 99–100.
16 Isabella Fyvie Mayo (writing as Edward Garrett), *Life's Long Battle Won* (New York: Dodd, Mead, [1889]), pp. 300, 321, 320. Published in a shortened version as *Rab Bethune's Double; or, Life's Long Battle Won* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1894).
17 Isabella Fyvie Mayo (writing as Edward Garrett), *A Black Diamond; or, The Best and the Worst of It* (London: 'Home Words' Publishing Offices, 1894), pp. 92–93.
18 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'The Roots of Honour', *Family Friend*, 26, (1895), pp. 97–100, 113–16, 129–32, 145–48, 161–64, 177–80, passim.
19 Isabella Fyvie Mayo (writing as Edward Garrett), 'Labourers in the Vineyard. IV: Emancipation of Slaves', *The Quiver*, 14 (1879), pp. 257–61 (p. 261).
20 Lorimer, pp. 191, 269–74.
21 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'What Britain has Gained through Foreigners', *The Victorian Magazine*, 1 (1891–92), pp. 774–79.

22 Sally Mitchell, 'Meade, Elizabeth Thomasina (1844–1914)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, May 2007, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52740 [accessed 11 April 2016].
23 Catherine Impey and Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'Some Facts Respecting Lynch Law Occurring within the Past Few Months in the United States', *Anti-Caste*, 6 (March–April 1893), pp. 1–8. For an explanation as to why Fyvie Mayo's name is missing from most surviving copies, see Lindy Moore, 'The Reputation of Isabella Fyvie Mayo: Interpretations of a Life', *Women's History Review*, 19 (2010), pp. 71–88.
24 Caroline Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).
25 Jacqueline Goldsby, *A Spectacular Secret: Lynching in American Life and Literature* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
26 Moore, 'Reputation'; Bressey.
27 Fyvie Mayo's authorship is suggested by her offer to set aside three working days a month reading up material for *Fraternity* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rhodes House MS Brit. Emp.s.20.E5/7, C. Impey and F. K. Bishop's Notes of London conference held 11 August 1893) and by internal evidence: the columnist referred to having visited Canada recently and quoted a section from Norman Macleod's 'Days in North India', *Good Words* (1870) which Fyvie Mayo had quoted in *Her Object in Life* (1882).
28 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'Deal Directly with Americans', *Fraternity*, 1 (July 1893), p. 2.
29 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'Let us Consider!', *Fraternity*, 4 (October 1896), p. 47.
30 London: Cassell.
31 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'A Talk over Stevenson', *Fraternity*, 3 (January 1896), pp. 82–83; Linda Dryden, 'Literary Affinities and the Postcolonial in Robert Louis Stevenson and Joseph Conrad', in *Scottish Literature and Postcolonial Literature: Comparative Texts and Critical Perspectives*, ed. Michael Gardiner, Graeme Macdonald, and Niall O'Gallagher (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 86–97. Marah Gubar's *Artful Dodgers: Reconceiving the Golden Age of Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 69–92, places *Treasure Island* as an anti-adventure story that subverts evangelical and imperialist narratives.
32 Charlotte Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples: The History of a Radical International Movement* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014).
33 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, '"The Brotherhood of Man"', *Labour Prophet and Labour Church Record*, 4 (October 1895), pp. 147–48.
34 A. E. Fletcher and G. H. Perris were also named (London *Daily News*, 2 June 1899, p. 7).
35 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'Tolstoi and his Apostles: An Open Letter to Mr. J. C. Kenworthy', *New Age*, 8 April 1897, pp. 24–25; and 'Our Book of the Week', *New Age*, 27 December 1906, p. 197.
36 Quoted in 'Three Voices of To-day', *Izwi Labantu*, 4 February 1908, p. 4. Readex: World Newspaper Archive: African Newspapers, 1800–1922.
37 Moore, 'From Russia with Love'.
38 Leo Tolstoy, *What I Believe: 'My Religion'* (Christchurch, Hants: The Free Age Press, 1902).
39 Fyvie Mayo, 'Modern Influences', p. 159.
40 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'Constitutional Government versus Autocracy (an Appreciation of Tolstoy's Article "The Crisis in Russia")', *The Crank*, 3 (1905), pp. 139–49; and '"Inviolable" (a Protest)', *The Crank*, 3 (1905), pp. 314–16.

41 Moore, 'From Russia with Love'; James D. Hunt, *An American Looks at Gandhi: Essays in Satyagraha, Civil Rights and Peace* (New Delhi: Promilla, 2005), p. 225. (Due to the late James Hunt's illness some inaccuracies in this informative account were not corrected.)
42 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'Note by Isabella Fyvie Mayo', in Leo Tolstoy, *A Great Iniquity* (London: The Free Age Press, [1906 (?)], pp. 37–39 (p. 38).
43 *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, 100 vols (Delhi: Publications Division, Government of India, 1956–94), x (1963), Appendix 6, p. 511, 'V. Chertkov's letter to Gandhiji'.
44 Isabella Fyvie Mayo to Vladimir Chertkov, 17 January 1914, quoted in Alston, p. 152.
45 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'The Hard Lot of Certain British Subjects', *Millgate Monthly*, 6 (1911), pp. 362–69 (repr. in *Women and Empire, 1750–1939: Primary Sources on Gender and Anglo-Imperialism,* ed. Susan K. Martin and others, 5 vols (London: Routledge, 2009), III: *Africa*, NO. 61).
46 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'Another Wise Man from ——?', *The Open Road*, 8 (March 1911), pp. 196–204; Ramachandra Guha, *Gandhi before India* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), pp. 362–84.
47 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'Tolstoy, his Work, and How to Study it', *East and West*, 10 (1911), pp. 795–809; and 'Helots within the Empire', *Open Road*, 12 (1913), pp. 13–22.
48 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'Another Wise Man from – the East', *Open Road*, 8 (April–May 1911), pp. 262–76, 319–32 (p. 332).
49 [M. K. Gandhi], 'The Late Mrs. Mayo', *Indian Opinion*, 20 May 1914, p. 159.
50 Hunt, pp. 55, 221.
51 *Her Object in Life*, p. 126.
52 [Isabella Fyvie Mayo], 'Concerning Ourselves in the Magazines', *Fraternity* 1 (May 1894), pp. 2–3; 'Helots within the Empire', p. 22.
53 Carla Sassi, 'Acts of (Un)willed Amnesia: Dis/appearing Figurations of the Caribbean in Post-Union Scottish Literature', in Giovanna Covi, Joan Anim-Addo, Velma Pollard, and Carla Sassi, *Caribbean–Scottish Relations: Colonial and Contemporary Inscriptions in History, Language and Literature* (London: Mango, 2007), pp. 131–98.
54 'What Britain has Gained through Foreigners', p. 776.
55 Isabella Fyvie Mayo, 'Appendix', in J. Morrison Davidson, *Scotland for the Scots: Scotland Revisited* (London: F. R. Henderson, 1902), pp. 88–90.
56 'Mr Cunninghame-Graham in Aberdeen', *Aberdeen Journal*, 7 October 1905, p. 7.

9. The Empire in Cunninghame Graham's Parliamentary Speeches and Early Writings, 1885–1900

LACHLAN MUNRO

It is impossible to separate Cunninghame Graham's anti-imperialism from his general political philosophy, although the latter can at times be confusing, being both radical and conservative – in his case, neither being inimical with the other. Such apparent paradoxes were not uncommon in his family. His great-great-grandfather, Robert Graham of Gartmore, while Lord Rector of Glasgow University, instituted a medal for the best discourse by a student on political liberty, despite having made his fortune as a slave-owner in Jamaica. Thus, ironically as it would transpire, Cunninghame Graham's inheritance and liabilities were founded on the exigencies of empire. It is impossible to determine to what extent his early experiences in South America created, or developed, an empathy with the underdog, but on his return to Scotland he immediately threw himself into politics, and became in the 1886 General Election, despite his socialist sympathies, a Liberal MP, an office then unpaid, for the industrial seat of North West Lanarkshire when his time might have been more advantageously employed dealing with the crippling debts he had inherited with his family estates.

He had emerged from the conventional charmed circle of well-connected, politically active landowners into a transitional political landscape, immediately after the franchise had widened to include two-thirds of all male workers. However, most workers at the time espoused rather conservative social mores: deference to power and wealth, inherited or earned, and an unshakeable respect for the institutions that underpinned late Victorian society, particularly the armed forces, royalty, and the Empire. Graham's early electioneering speeches attracted large and enthusiastic audiences through their passion, wit, and showmanship. Though critical of Britain's foreign policy, following recent debacles in Egypt and South Africa, in these speeches he avoided criticism of Britain's military and, initially, he was

decidedly reticent over the issue of Irish home rule.[1] Any reticence was, however, cast aside over these same issues in his maiden speech on 1 February 1887, which was widely reported as a satirical *tour de force*, keeping the House of Commons in an uproar for more than half an hour and establishing him as an orator of note, within and without Westminster.

In front of an astonished House, the thirty-five-year-old newcomer implied that the royal family were nothing more than parasites, and that there had been no mention in the Queen's Speech of the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt, where they were oppressing the already downtrodden population, to maintain the security of the Suez Canal, for the sake of imperial trade. He ridiculed Britain's intervention in Burma (Myanmar) where British soldiers were 'suppressing poor, unfortunate, misguided people, who, in their pigheaded way were endeavouring to defend their own country', and it was no matter for self-congratulation that these soldiers were using precision weapons – 'to shoot down naked savages […] to suppress these unfortunate wretches with all the resources of civilisation at their command'.[2] As for army expenditure, he deprecated spending public money to find places for the younger sons of plutocrats, and to advance the ambitions of soldiers and diplomats who made the name of Britain 'execrated in the four quarters of the globe'. His greatest scorn was, however, reserved for Britain's policies in Ireland, and what he saw as the iniquities of Irish landlords:

> It is the pride and the privilege of the Irish landlord to look after the interests, creature as well as spiritual, of his tenants; and, such is the relation of class to class that, so far from turning them out on a bleak, cold winter's night, the landlord has provided his dependents with a fire to warm their hands; only, through a pardonable inadvertence, it was their houses that had furnished the blaze.

Finally, in a foretaste of the priorities that would define his early political career, he concluded with these words:

> Who can say that the affairs of this handful of obscure tenants in a windswept and rain-bedewed, stony corner of Ireland, might not

> prove to have given the first blow to that society in which one man worked and another enjoyed the fruit – that society in which capital and luxury makes a Heaven for 30,000, and a Hell for 30,000,000 – that society whose crowning achievement is this dreary waste of mud and stucco – with its misery, its want and destitution, its degradation, its prostitution, and its glaring social inequalities – the society which we call London – that society which, by a refinement of irony, has placed the mainspring of human action, almost the power of life and death, and the absolute power to pay labour and to reward honour, behind the grey tweed veil which enshrouded the greasy pocket-book of the capitalist.

Although broadly democratic, radical, and anti-imperialist, his utterances before and immediately after entering Parliament had been ill-defined. It was apparently under William Morris's direction that he found, for the moment, his political bearings. His friends and colleagues were, however, guarded about the depth of his commitment to an ideology. In 1932, his artist friend Will Rothenstein wrote that '[Joseph] Conrad knew that Cunninghame Graham was more cynic than idealist and was by nature an aristocrat, whose socialism was *a symbol* [my italics] of his contempt for a feeble aristocracy and a blatant plutocracy'.[3] Later, Hugh MacDiarmid wrote that 'his socialism was not based on an adequate theory of social causation'.[4] Nevertheless, Graham threw himself into the socialist cause with great enthusiasm, and after a severe beating by the police, arrest, and subsequent imprisonment, after helping lead the November 1887 Bloody Sunday riot in Trafalgar Square, his subsequent notoriety drew him towards the denizens of London's radical demi-monde. There, as a serving MP until 1892 when he failed to be elected as a Labour candidate in Glasgow Camlachie, and as a popular orator, his new ideals found a satisfying expression in writing for small-circulation and little-read socialist journals. While the demands of writing for these journals were exhausting, they would prove an ideal training ground for his future literary career.

The demise of *The People's Press* in 1891 saw a steep decline in his often quirky and doctrinaire political reportage, and we begin to witness more

measured and often lyrical social commentaries on Victorian institutions and on women's rights. During this period he also produced an anti-capitalist dystopian fable entitled 'The Evolution of a Village',[5] and many other criticisms of what he saw as a corrupt and disfigured society.

Increasingly, the same radical sentiments found expression in anti-imperial diatribes. In late 1890 and early 1891, three pieces on the plight of the Sioux nation appeared in *The Daily Graphic*, described by John Walker as 'an anguished cry from the heart against the cruel treatment of the American Indian'.[6] Much later, Graham also defended Spain against United States aggression in the Spanish–American War, asserting that Britain had betrayed its old ally to win American favour. Moreover, he bombarded newspapers with reports and letters on French and Spanish ambitions in Morocco, where he acted as *The Glasgow Herald*'s 'Special Correspondent' in 1906.

While in Parliament, Graham's priorities had been radically different from those of the vast majority of MPs on both sides of the House, causing him increasing frustration and anger, particularly with his own supposed party. His views also ran contrary to public opinion, particularly on imperial matters, for, as George Blake wrote:

> Britannia ruled the waves, and nobody took much account of rebellious Zulus, Boers, Fuzzy-Wuzzies and such. All the British people had good reason to be content with their international status at least; and such a man as Keir Hardie was obviously mad.[7]

There was, however, growing unease and doubt among certain sections of British society over the future and aims of the Empire, while some were concerned that Britain's seeming rush to amass territories to offset growing challenges to its predominance was casting it in the role of villain, particularly when the imperatives of empire were laid bare in a white-on-white war. A key event that exacerbated British moral qualms, and international condemnation, was the botched Jameson Raid of 1895 to 1896, which had been aimed at provoking conflict with the Boers. In connection with this raid, Rudyard Kipling (whom Graham and his friends regarded as '*the* enemy'[8]) published an extraordinary rallying cry, *Hymn before Action*,[9]

which attempted to consolidate the imperial task, while dismissing foreign anger. It was perhaps no coincidence, then, that Graham published four notable anti-imperialist tracts in 1896 and 1897. The first was a pamphlet entitled *The Imperial Kailyard: Being a Bitter Satire on English Colonisation*.[10] Here, he recalls how, in the naivety of youth, he had once believed that all the good and honourable virtues had been patented in England:

> I was informed that wherever the British flag floated all were free and equal before the law, irrespective of race, position, or colour […]. All free and independent – the poor elector independently blacking boots, the rich elector as independently running his course as the bridegroom in the scriptures. […] The sanctity of British soil, the superior virtue and chivalry of my countrymen, their justice, toleration, and fair dealing with all stronger than themselves, and their generous commercial attitude to weaker nations than themselves, grew to be my most serviceable creed.[11]

If some slight injustices were done to the native populations in extending these blessings, then this seemed only natural – all change incurs some loss: 'Thus it is in part our minds are moulded to judge favourably of conquerors from youth. Then the odds seem so great.'[12] His scorn then turns to 'the useless sons' and missionaries sent to administer and pacify these far-flung regions, degraded by their institution, as are their 'niggers', and if on some rare occasion one is killed, the corrupt press describes it as 'a massacre'.[13] It is a bitter indictment indeed, a comprehensive attack on arrogance, brutality, hypocrisy, and jingoism as Britain plundered its way around the world under the guise of a civilising mandate, sending armies of incompetents to rob and defile. A specific focus was Britain's contemporaneous involvement by proxy in the Matabeleland Rebellion (1896–97):

> No one doubts that eventually the Matabele will be conquered, and that our flag will wave triumphantly over the remnant of them, in the same way as it waves triumphantly over the workhouse pauper and the sailor's poor whore in the east end of London. Let it wave

> on over an empire reaching from north to south, from east to west; wave over every island, hitherto ungrabbed, on every sterile desert and fever-haunted swamp as yet unclaimed; over the sealer amid the icebergs, stripping the fur from the live seal, on purpose to oblige a lady; over the abandoned transport camel, perishing of thirst on the Soudan; and still keep waving over Leicester Square, where music halls at night belch out their crowds of stout imperialists. [14]

The second piece, also an indignant satire, was '"Bloody Niggers"'.[15] Juvenalian in its contempt, this essay is really an extension of *The Imperial Kailyard* – an assault on bigotry, ironically describing the world, its resources, and its peoples as having been designed by an all-wise Creator exclusively for British use. Why had this Jahvé gone to the trouble of creating these other races, if not to be ruled by Englishmen?

> 'Niggers' who have no cannons, and cannot construct a reasonable torpedo, have no rights […] Their land is ours, their, cattle, fields, their houses their poor utensils, arms, all that they have; their women, too, are ours to use as concubines, to beat, exchange, to barter for gunpowder and gin […] ours to infect with syphilis, leave with child, outrage, torment, and make by consort with the vilest of our vile, more vile than beasts.

It may be that in this piece he was also ironically reflecting on his own quarter-Spanish provenance, for the 'Latin' races too can enjoy Britain's freedoms, but only if they conform by being rich, ride bicycles, wash, and gamble on the stock exchange.

It is worth noting that in both of these tracts Graham equates imperialism directly with capitalism, a system enslaving those at home as well as those abroad, and that he draws no distinction between the plight of the poor 'native' and the plight of Britain's industrial poor – they are all victims of the same systemised greed:

> If they are poor, then woe betide them, let them paint their faces

> white with all the ceruse [a skin-whitening cosmetic] which ever Venice furnished, to the black favour they will come. A plague of pigments, blackness is in the heart, not in the face, and poverty, no matter how it washes, still is black.

This extraordinary broadside concludes by asking if England is 'a vast and seething mushroom bed of base hypocrisy', and God 'an anthropomorphous fool'.

As if to encapsulate all his anger, the third piece was a breathless newspaper article entitled 'Expansion of Empire',[16] published only eight days before the celebrations for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, in which he ridiculed Britain's imperial ambitions:

> In every corner of the world some epoch-making little man has been extending our national power on an insecure footing and building his own fortunes […]. Truly an age of expansion, national expansion and international expansion […]. Well, it is done, and hardly a corner of the known world remains in which the name of Britain is not mentioned with a curse.

'Conscience', he satirically asserted, is a British product, and once across the English Channel it withers and dies; the British are the chosen race, and have taken out a patent on the 'gentleman' to defend themselves from the infringement of copyright by foreign counterfeits. Thus, Britain reserves the right to reclaim the rest of the world from barbarism and recast it in its own image.

The stridency of Graham's writing, and the expression of such uncompromising and controversial views, are also worthy of note – for their courage, if nothing else – although they were mostly expressed outside mainstream publishing, for instance in a provincial newspaper that was well-known for its radical opinions. However, the context of Graham's fourth anti-imperialist piece of this period would prove the most extraordinary.

His stepping down from his parliamentary seat in 1892, and failure to get re-elected, his insurmountable debts, and in 1894 a schism with Keir

Hardie and other members of the Independent Labour Party, which he had worked so hard to create, seems to have precipitated a crisis. In 1895, however, the redoubtable Frank Harris, owner and editor of *The Saturday Review,* recruited Graham to write for this publication, along with H. G. Wells, Oscar Wilde, and Bernard Shaw. Slowly Graham consolidated and professionalised his hitherto sporadic, tendentious works, and writing for this prestigious 'Tory' paper obliged him to attempt less contentious subjects. It is all the more surprising that it was *The Review* that published his last major anti-imperialist article of this period, because it was an attack on Harris's friend Cecil Rhodes (whom elsewhere he had called 'The Bulawayo Burglar'[17]) and on British intrigues in southern Africa against the Boers, published in two parts under the title 'Fraudesia Magna'.[18] After tracing the advance of the Boers, and their destructive impact on the native inhabitants, he states that at least they were not 'money-grubbers', but adds:

> Nothing excites our [British] wrath more fully than to see rich mineral lands in the hands of others. It seems to strike us as a sort of coming between the Lord and His anointed […]. We have a mission to perform, and to be free to follow it we must have gold and diamond mines in order to obtain a market for our sized cotton and our trash from Birmingham […]. Superior morality is not bound by treaties […]. Britons were never slaves to treaties when gold was found in adjoining countries.[19]

Never reluctant to introduce Spanish or South American allusions, Graham then compares Rhodes to Cortés in his love of wealth and power, but there the resemblance ends. Rhodes is no warrior and takes no physical risks, but he offers the British upper classes and industrialists huge profits, 'chances of wealth unsoiled by work', using others like Dr Jameson to do his dirty work of goading the Boers into war in 'a sordid and tinpot affair […]. England, perhaps, is justified, if not by works, by her humiliation; for, once again, the whole world thinks us liars'.[20]

The publication of these articles was not only remarkable during the zenith of British nationalism and imperialism, but also during a period of

paranoia that found voice in a popular literary genre known as 'Imperial Gothic', which revealed underlying anxieties over matters of mysticism, miscegenation, degeneracy, irrationality, and the fragility of civilisation, the most accomplished exponents of this being Graham's great friend Joseph Conrad and, later, John Buchan. Many people also felt threatened by the economic and technological rise of other European powers, which found expression in yet another popular literary form: 'Invasion Literature' in which the outward thrust of imperialist adventure is reversed. Elleke Boehmer writes:

> Though fears and doubts about Empire only came fully into their own in the new century, expressions of anxiety about social regression and national decline were widespread. Movements that implied a loss of traditional authority – Irish nationalism, socialism, the New Woman – met with stern repression.[21]

It is perhaps worth noting that the topics that Boehmer selects were exactly the topics that occupied Graham's early crusades. We might ask to what extent these formed a deliberate and comprehensive attempt, in his own small way, to undermine all aspects of British power. We might also ask whether we should include Graham's support for Scottish and Irish home rule in the anti-imperialist category. On the surface, statements on these 'national' issues, early in his career, dealt with practical matters of governance, including his support for an unsuccessful Scottish Home Rule Bill in April 1889. He may also have considered Scottish and Irish nationalism as a potential means of undermining the ossified power structures he had hopelessly attacked as an MP – and a means by which the Empire could be eroded from within. However, the only early text which overtly suggests this opinion (prior to his well-documented speeches promoting Scottish independence in the late 1920s and early 1930s) was a letter to *The Saturday Review* in 1906:

> Bulgaria, Roumania, Servia, Norway, have all seceded from Greater powers within the memory of man. Finland and Hungary, Poland

> and Ireland, with Bohemia and Macedonia, all mortally detest their union with great oppressive States. Nothing but force keeps any one of them a portion of the great empires to which respectively they all belong […] the whole trend of modern thought and economics is towards the evolution of small states, and every great unwieldy Power, our own included, is on the verge of a break-up and a return to its component parts.[22]

'Fraudesia Magna' was uniquely forthright in Graham's work for *The Review*, which over a period of almost forty years generously provided him with a platform to indulge his often plot-less, nostalgic essays that were liberally, but more subtly, suffused with anti-imperialist themes. Apparently written to satisfy his own interests, they were remembrances of times past, which he enlivened by applying his imagination, while eschewing what he dismissed as 'invention'. His biographer Anne Taylor believes, however, that it was as early as 1889, with the publication of a political report entitled 'Lisbon Revisited',[23] that we first witness the emergence of this new kind of writing, describing his first-hand experiences, which 'was intensely satisfying'.[24] Up until the early 1930s there followed a constant stream of articles, histories, sketches, reviews, and letters on the subjects closest to his experience and interests – South America, Spain, Morocco, and Scotland. Thus, his lasting literary legacy became the hundreds of what have been called literary 'sketches' and 'sketch-tales', vivid impressions, all derived from a highly developed visual and olfactory memory, produced for *The Saturday Review* and other periodicals, collected into almost thirty anthologies in his lifetime, and a dozen or so after. Chris GoGwilt writes: 'It is really the sketch that defines the genre of all of Graham's works, and his sketch artistry is the medium through which "the adventure of being Cunninghame Graham" links the battlefronts of socialist struggle and colonial politics.'[25] The idiosyncratic interior monologue, so apparent in his earlier agitprop pieces, continued to inform his artistic style, in what GoGwilt describes as 'the sometimes bewildering juxtaposition of divergent concerns that is a hallmark of Graham's writing',[26] and 'the crafted tale can become at any moment the stage for direct political commentary'.[27] This, GoGwilt believes,

was a deliberate strategy, combining the 'low' literary form of his early political journalism with the 'high' artistry developed by his friend Conrad and others – 'at the moment of early modernism – when narrative form is tilted from the axis of time and history to an axis of space and geography'.[28] It is a style, however, that has deprived Graham, fairly, or unfairly, of a place in the higher echelons of the Scottish literary canon.

Many of these new writings treated of his interest and experiences in South America and North Africa, including speculative histories, with facts gleaned from libraries and bookshops, coloured by his experiences of the settings, and containing anti-colonial texts or sub-texts, of internal colonialism, and the depredations of vicious dictators on indigenous populations. Interspersed among these are more subtle tales of colonial misadventure, illustrations of the iniquities discussed above – ignorance, greed, and incompetence – or of those who follow in the wake of colonisation and whom he considers to be moral degenerates and exploiters: sadists like 'Honest Tom Bilson' in 'Bristol Fashion',[29] of which a reviewer wrote that it was a story 'which Mr. Conrad might have been proud to sign'.[30] But even those colonisers with good intentions are a curse, their very presence inevitably exerting baleful effects on native populations: 'the strange anæmia which comes to wild peoples by the mere presence of a white man in their midst … the "modorra" [(torpor) which] exterminates the people whom he came to benefit'.[31] Herman Melville had treated of this in his first novel *Typee*,[32] and Stevenson in 'The Beach of Falesá',[33] both written from their personal experiences; but Graham, as usual, puts matters more bluntly:

> Who does not feel as if a slug was crawling on his soul on reading in some missionary report of all their misdirected labours and their sufferings, and of the perils that they have endured, to turn some fine free race of savages […] into bad copies of our lowest class, waddling about in ill-made clothes and claiming kindred with us as brother 'Klistians' in the Lord?[34]

Scattered among these bright, exotic, if sometimes grubby, postcards is a remarkable collection of Scottish 'portraits', mostly centred around his home

in the ethnic and topographical frontier country of Menteith – enclosed, shadowy, misty, and what T. E. Lawrence described as 'the rain-in-the-air-and-on-the-roof mournfulness of Scotch music in his time-past style […] snap-shots – the best verbal snapshots ever taken I believe'.[35] The chiaroscuro is, however, deceptive: there is also a harder, political edge – an unremitting distaste for progress (or what passes for progress) and the losses it causes. The same distaste pervades Graham's anti-imperialist writings. Imperialism was not something that only had impact abroad; the reciprocal influence on the means and pace of production and communications at home was not only filling the slums and sweat-shops, it was also destroying communities and cultures, ways of life, modes of thought, and types of men, resulting in degradation and a loss of individuality. In other words, the Empire and the industrial processes that fed off it, and powered it, were being achieved at the cost of destroying social cohesion, being as corrosive to the coloniser as they were to the colonised, both morally and culturally. This is where his political campaigns, his anti-imperialism, his histories, his foreign sketch-tales, and his portraits find reconciliation – in his gauchos, his Jesuits, his Apaches, and his old-world Scots:

> The people, too, I treat of, for the most part have disappeared; being born unfit for progress, it has passed over them, and their place is occupied by worthy men who cheat to better purpose, and more scientifically. Therefore, I, writing as a man who has not only seen, but lived with ghosts, may perhaps find pardon for this preface, for who would run in heavily and dance a hornpipe on the turf below which sleep the dead?[36]

It is no coincidence that these portraits began in 1900, the traumatic year in which his home, Gartmore House, was sold to a shipping magnate, relieving him of his burden of debt, but causing great anguish and feelings of ancestral betrayal, as new money wrung from the Empire would again replace old, and the subject of family, as well as the country, seemed uppermost in his mind. David Lowe, a left-wing journalist who knew Graham and Keir Hardie well, was in no doubt that it was his property

concerns that prompted him to start writing about Menteith: 'In the turmoil of his impoverished condition, with the dark prospect ahead of having to sell part of his lands, his thoughts hovered lovingly over his ancestral environments.'[37]

These ruminative works are particularly plangent, atmospheric descriptions of landscape and old-world types – local worthies and eccentric relatives, memories from an age of enlightenment displaced by an age of entitlement, of a bygone gentility of a distinctly Scottish pattern. The railway in particular seemed to be the sworn enemy of such people, and a powerful force in homogenising the population. It is a past untouched by sordid materialism, a chivalrous past: 'It seems to me, a world all void of grace must needs be cruel, for cruelty and grace go not together.'[38] The overall pace and effect is languid, his Scotland is now benighted, its people, stolid and stoic, have lost the vital spark of spirituality and joy, something he blames on a grim and unyielding Calvinism, resulting in the loss of the older, heroic type. Commerce and self-interest have replaced adventure and community in the national psyche, it is a home-grown *modorra* engendered by religion, and the baleful effects of modern industrial society; and the old heroic qualities in the Scottish character have been reduced to parochial domesticity, compliant, subdued. Neil Munro wrote, however, that Graham had not taken his views from real life 'but from bookish conventions', describing two outdated stereotypes that Munro believed had not existed in Scotland for generations: the Celt who is always admirable, 'touched with old-time graces and courtesies'; and the Lowlander, 'a religious bigot, prone to ardent waters'.[39]

Graham's writings about Scottish rural folkways have an occasional scent of the kailyard, but their brevity, and the paucity of plot and character development that typifies most of his work, militated against sentimentality, and no doubt also militated against a wider readership, and he expressly disparaged the Kailyarders.[40] It was not simply the distortion of language that offended him; for a man who had exerted so much effort fighting for the underdog and the industrial poor, the huge popularity of Kailyard literature was depicting a cosy continuity, camouflaging the rapid erosion of cultural diversity and personal freedoms, which it purported

to exalt, disguising life's harsh realities, and ameliorating the need for radical action. In contrast, although the landscape and the past are romanticised in Graham's sketches, the people and their lives are not; his close observations are sharp for the trifling actions of which life is composed, solemn, often tragic.

For many socialists, Graham's Scottish nationalism has been problematic – reactionary, seemingly at odds with his anti-racist, egalitarian, internationalist outlook. But reactionary is exactly what it was, a reaction against imperialism and its offspring – the untrammelled industrialisation that was obliterating distinctiveness, creating wage-slaves, dehumanising mankind, and alienating individuals – and it can only be fully understood in that context. His brand of nationalism was neither narrow nor exclusive; it was a supposed antidote to imperial centralisation and to the standardisation that this so-called progress necessarily demanded. It was a desire to perfect the parts before a more rational, natural, holistic progression was ready to take place.

It is a recurring but distracting theme in the many potted biographies of Graham that his life was extraordinarily diverse, covering his early adventuring, his political activism, his travels, and his large literary output. It was certainly a singular life, but a closer examination reveals that his philosophy remained remarkably consistent, although his impulses and pronouncements slowly tempered with age. Times changed, friends and colleagues equivocated and compromised, but Graham remained resolute; and if his allegiances to political parties seem promiscuous, it was because he believed that the parties themselves had betrayed or compromised their founding principles, many of which he himself had set. This was not stubbornness, nor lack of imagination – he was simply not a politician in the conventional sense. His political ideals were not based on dogma, party, or self-interest, but on an unshakable sense of right and wrong, of fairness, of a broad-minded all-encompassing morality. And at a time of unprecedented and accelerating technological change, he deplored the inexorable disappearance of a more 'natural' and diverse world, corrupted and laid waste by greed.

Graham died in 1936 during a trip to Argentina to visit the birthplace of his late friend, the pioneering naturalist and author W. H. Hudson. It

would take another forty years, and another world war, before the idea gained momentum that 'progress' was not always beneficial, that some things were worth preserving, that small could be beautiful; and if the emotive word 'conservative' could morph into 'conservationist', then, one day, 'reactionary' might transmute into 'prophet'.

Notes

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3 William Rothenstein, in *Men and Memories 1900–1922* (London: Faber & Faber, 1932), p. 165.
4 Hugh MacDiarmid, *Cunninghame Graham: A Centenary Study* (Glasgow: The Caledonian Press, 1952), p. 9.
5 *The Albemarle* (June 1892), pp. 205–7.
6 *The North American Sketches of R. B. Cunninghame Graham,* ed. John Walker (Edinburgh: The Scottish Academic Press, 1986), p. 25.
7 George Blake, *Barrie and the Kailyard School* (London: Arthur Barker, 1951), p. 21.
8 Edward Garnett, letter to Cunninghame Graham, 26 January 1899, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, The Manuscript Collection of Admiral Sir Angus Cunninghame Graham.
9 After *The Times* refused to publish the poem, it was anthologised in Rudyard Kipling's *The Seven Seas* (London: Methuen, 1896), p. 93.
10 London: The Twentieth Century Press, 1896.
11 Ibid., pp. 3–4.
12 Ibid., p. 7.
13 Ibid., p. 12.
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15 *The Social Democrat*, 1 (April 1897), pp. 104–9.
16 *The Sunday Chronicle*, 13 June 1897, p. 2.
17 R. B. Cunninghame Graham, 'The Dirge of the North Wind', *The Labour Leader*, 7 October 1896, p. 361.
18 *The Saturday Review*, 21 March 1896, pp. 293–95, and 4 April 1896, pp. 340–42.
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21 Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial & Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 22.
22 Cunninghame Graham, 'Spain and Catalonia', letter to *The Saturday Review*, 30 June 1906, p. 819.
23 In *The Labour Elector*, 21 December 1889, p. 396.
24 Anne Taylor, *The People's Laird: A Life of Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham* ([n.p.]: Tobias Press, 2005), p. 218.

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26 Ibid., p. 239.
27 Ibid., p. 239.
28 Ibid., p. 242.
29 Published in *The Saturday Review*, 5 February 1898, pp. 167–68.
30 Cunninghame Graham, 'Bristol Fashion', *The Academy*, 28 May 1898, p. 580.
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32 Herman Melville, *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life* (London: John Murray, 1846).
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34 'Progress', in Cunninghame Graham, *Progress and Other Sketches* (London: Duckworth, 1905), pp. 1–63 (pp. 4–5).
35 T. E. Lawrence, letter to C. J. Greenwood, 26 October 1932, in *The Selected Letters of T. E. Lawrence*, ed. David Garnett (London: World Books, 1941), p. 341.
36 Cunninghame Graham, 'Foreword' to *Thirteen Stories* (London: Heinemann, 1900), pp. x–xi.
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38 Cunninghame Graham, 'Foreword' to *Thirteen Stories*, p. ix.
39 Neil Munro, *The On-Looker* (Edinburgh: The Porpoise Press, 1933), p. 305.
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10. White-Skinned Barbarians in Selected Tales by R. B. Cunninghame Graham

JOHN C. MCINTYRE

To what extent do R. B. Cunninghame Graham's anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism surface in his stories? This chapter attempts to answer this question through case studies of a selection of his tales, with special focus on 'Buta', 'Bristol Fashion', and 'A Hegira' – chosen because they depict encounters between white European-based colonisers and settlers, and native residents in the Middle East, Africa, and Mexico.

'Buta' (in the collection *Hope*, 1910)[1] is so charged with political implications that it barely qualifies as a tale. It opens with an idyllic North African scene. Four horsemen have paused to rest and smoke on a sandbank at a ford in a tidal river at night. Graham in three paragraphs evokes the physical setting in lush painterly terms. A conversation abandoned in town an hour previously is re-started. The author in this piece is mainly a listener, handing over the internal narrative duty to the fourth member of the group, Nazim, an Arabic speaker[2] who, having been brought up speaking English and with Englishmen, has mastered English and seen the 'English' (British) at close hand. Nazim's opening remarks are already thoughtful: 'How strange you English are! […] We never know whether it is you that deceive the world and God, or if it is yourselves that you deceive' (p. 413). For Nazim the 'English' are by nature deceitful.

Nazim recalls his four years working for a British trading company at Cape Juby on the Atlantic coast of south-western Morocco. Nearby lived an Arab woman called Rahma, in Arabic 'merciful', whose name was changed to Buta 'which, as you know, is how the Arabs pronounce a certain Spanish word' (p. 413). Nazim's listeners need no explanation of this word, though today's readers may need to be told that *puta* is standard Spanish for 'prostitute'. Nazim comments that this trading company in fact over four years sold nothing. History tells us that in the fiercely competitive European

scramble for empire in the nineteenth century, a foothold in a colonisable territory could be symbolic, a deterrent to other European powers or sometimes a real base for future development of the forts, port facilities, coaling stations, and trading centres so desired by the European powers. This trading post consisted of a fort and a factory. 'Factory' is probably a large building or warehouse, a workplace for 'fifteen or twenty clerks, almost all Scotchmen, chosen for their good morals and book-keeping' (p. 414). Nazim proposes that whereas most men smack their lips on sight of a pretty woman, the Englishman pretends not to see her, though at night he may then send a little boy to ask her to come and speak with him. Nazim has now baited his hook: his listeners and the reader want to know how the Scotchmen with 'good morals' will behave when they encounter Rahma.

What are we told of Rahma? Rahma's black tent sits a few hundred yards away from the 'factory'. She is a widow with two children, one child her husband's, the other 'sent from God'. She owns a few goats, a sheep or two, and an old loom. The kindly people of the nearby tribe, sensing her need, give her their surplus food. She is a tall and handsome woman, with velvet eyes, as rhythmic in her movements – in Nazim's words – as a 'desert mare' (p. 415).

Nazim reflects upon the impact of the Anglo-speaking foreigner in Arabic-speaking lands:

> Yes, thrice accursed is your civilisation in its effect on men of other races, not born within its smoke. What has it done for me? What has it done for the young Syrians on whom your missionaries impose their hands, and teach them English, French, book-keeping, and Scripture history? as if an Englishman or an American could teach a Syrian the history of Christ, who was born among ourselves.

He proclaims: 'True, true, you civilise us, and we drift into your proletariat, and perhaps may prove as dangerous to you as did our ancestors to Rome' (p. 416).

Nazim's fluency in English, his knowledge of the Christ figure, and of the Syrian challenge to the ancient Roman Empire, as well as his social and

intellectual confidence in addressing three Anglo-speaking foreigners are very impressive.

Nazim returns to his tale but within the tale cannot resist pursuing his critical line of thought. The clerks initially went by night past Rahma's tent

> to show their interest and their zeal for her soul's welfare – after the English way. Welfare of the soul, that is the trade-mark of you English. No, no, I do not mean to offend; but then, you see, you are, above all things, a commercial nation, and the soul is cheap, whereas the body is a costly thing to help. (p. 416)

One of Nazim's three listeners – two Britons and a Yankee – is aghast, 'being convinced of the superiority of our race, our faith, our principles, and everything that appertained to us' (p. 416). Rahma's fate is to be now called 'El Buta' – 'The Prostitute' – and to have strangers asking for her directed to her tent by the local tribespeople, for 'There, friend, you have your house; and she has drink, too, of the Christians. Accursed be the sons and daughters of the mothers who never yet said no' (p. 417). The three Anglo-speakers, with minimal protest, gallop back with Nazim into town.

How may we read this piece? The title is a woman's name (or nickname). The characterisation, however, of Rahma/Buta is faint: she is seen always from the outside, through male eyes, and never speaks in her own cause. Though the reader feels a measure of sympathy for her vulnerability, she does not dominate the story. Graham gives control of the piece over to another male non-European speaker whose land of Syria is in the hands of foreign educators, and under pressure, like other countries in the wider Arab world, to cede land, resources, and wealth to European imperial powers. The Anglo-speakers welcome Nazim as an expert storyteller and as a riding companion. He is fluent in English and has a sharp eye and a very sharp brain. Nazim does not voice an economic or political critique of the foreign imperialist, but rather, in this short tale-cum-sketch, he shreds the veneer of moral superiority that the supposedly civilising imperialist assumes in justifying his role.

Is it possible from this one-off incident to project a broad interpretation?

Nineteenth-century European empire-builders sought economically advantageous colonies. Claiming moral and cultural superiority, they argued that they brought 'civilisation' to places that without the 'civilising' foreigner would remain barbaric. Yet their allegedly superior code of morality was shot through with hypocrisy, for they were often really driven by practical needs and low instincts: in 'Buta' they take advantage of a widowed woman alone, with two dependent children, and very frail means of support, and may have coaxed her into prostitution. At a very small local level, the Scotchmen of 'good morals' become local agents of a larger imperial exploitation of a vulnerable non-European society.

Can anything similar be found within the packed detail of 'Bristol Fashion' (in the collection *The Ipané*, 1899)?[3] In the 1860s many barques owned in Bristol worked on the West African coast, picking up cargo in the north to ferry it south, and vice versa. Cargos might include palm-oil, camwood, ivory, gum copal, kola nuts, beeswax, gold dust, and ostrich feathers, acquired through barter with local chiefs and headmen, in exchange for gin, rum, gunpowder, and trade guns. The barques often sailed short-handed from Bristol and made up crew numbers by hiring a gang of local West African 'Krooboys' for each cruise of up to two years. The Krooboys were usually tall and strong young men, committed 'pagans' and polygamists, beyond the reach of Christianity. The smartest barque on the coast was the *Wilberforce*, commanded by Captain Bilson ('Honest Tom Bilson', p. 245). Graham's presentation of Bilson is flavoursome. Back in Bristol he has his wife and children: he hopes to make his daughter a lady 'all the way up' (p. 247), and his son a 'blarsted gentleman' (p. 248). Bilson is also 'a member of a congregation in the rare intervals he passed at home' (p. 245), and 'when at sea, on Sundays, read his chapter to his crew, not greatly understanding what he read, but reading […] from sheer routine' (p. 245). Viewed from Bristol he seems outwardly a pillar of Victorian respectability.

Bilson, though, is less than perfect. Though on board his wife's picture looks down on him, out on the coast, when he hires Krooboys, he also brings aboard a 'negro girl to act as interpreter and keep things "ship-shape" in his cabin, sew on his buttons, play on the "marimba" and act as intermediary in his dealings with the chiefs' (p. 245). On occasions he asks his

'consort' (p. 247), his 'Accra girl' (p. 247), to dance for the company, which she does most provocatively. Bilson, surface Christian and captain of a ship called *Wilberforce*, is a racist:

> Philanthropists, with missionaries and those who talked of equal rights for all mankind, he held as fools, calling them 'blooming sentimentalists,' which term he thought the most contemptuous a man could bear. […] 'I like a naked nigger' (he would say) 'dressed in his breech clout', but the self-same 'nig' rigged in a cheap slop suit he thought unnatural, and asked with many oaths, and tags of scripture referring to the Amelekite dwellers in Canaan and the Cities of the Plain, if you would like to give your daughter to a negro man. (p. 247)

When we learn that Bilson 'hated to be over-reached, and if a "nigger" was the over-reacher his fury knew no bounds' (p. 248), we have the final element in place for a horrendous climax to the tale: his boatswain reports one day that 'several of the Krooboys had stolen a boat, and having crossed the bar, had paddled up the river and disappeared' (p. 248). Bilson is faced with 'the bewildering thought that he, the smartest skipper on the coast, had been outdone by his own Krooboys, "niggers", savages, heathens, and yet sharp enough to leave him in the lurch' (p. 248). Bilson takes the *Wilberforce* away for a few days and re-rigs her in the style of a Yankee barquantine. He shaves differently and dresses in Yankee style and returns to the original scene. When the three Krooboys row out to ask for work, they are seized and thrown in irons. Bilson does a deal with a local chief and the Krooboys are taken away in a war-canoe manned by 'sixteen savages' (p. 250). The final paragraph is cruel in the extreme.

> Years afterwards, when seated in his villa outside Bristol, after attending chapel […] Bilson was wont to tell how that in all his life he had been done but once and that time by some 'bloody niggers;' but he would say, 'They stole my boat, they did; their names was Little Fish, Tom Coffee, and Joe Brass, stole my boat, eh, but by

> Gawd's help I ketched 'em and sold 'em to a chief of one of them cannibal set-outs of niggers down Congo way; fixed 'em, I did, you bet, in Bristol fashion. (p. 250)

If challenged as to his actions, Bilson might argue that in such a remote and 'uncivilised' place there was no hope of his recovering the boat or its value, that there was no local judicial system that could provide punishment for the theft. So, Bilson administers his own revenge and punishment. Bilson condemns the three Krooboys to death by selling them to a tribe of known cannibals. The moral superiority that the European imperialist ascribes to himself is again left in shreds. The Bristol sea-captain in 'Bristol Fashion' is perhaps even more deficient morally than the Scottish book-keepers with 'good morals' in 'Buta'.

Bilson's behaviour in what is, after all, a fiction, makes the reader untrained in history wonder whether European empires routinely manifested or permitted such odious behaviour. The historical record shows European imperial brutality being exercised against native peoples in many, many times and places.

Graham's 'Where are the natives of Tasmania, the Australian blacks, the great portion of the Maoris?' (in 'De Heretico comburendo', in the early collection *Father Archangel of Scotland, and Other Essays*, 1896)[4] directs us to Tasmania and New Zealand. When a court judgement in Sydney changed the legal status of Aboriginal Australians from British subjects to 'savages' with no rights, the convicts sent to the island of Tasmania – as well as the elite running the island – had a free hand to hunt, shoot, and kill indigenous inhabitants. The indigenous population fell from about seven thousand in 1800 to zero in 1876.[5] Though Graham's 'A Pakeha' (in *Thirteen Stories*, 1900) is set in New Zealand in the 1860s, the imperial machine there seems very similar. Many years later, back in Scotland, the narrator Mr Campbell tells of 'the "blackbirds" (slaves, ye ken, what we called free endentured labourers)' being sent off to the New Hebrides; land being bought at 'a croon the acre, and a wee bit conseederation to the Government surveyor just kept things square'; attractive Maori women or 'half-castes' available as consorts; and Sir George Grey, 'ane o' they filantrofists', bribing native chiefs to acquire

their land for Britain. Thirty-odd years later Mr Campbell yearns four times over for his 'pairfect pairadise'.[6]

During King Leopold II of Belgium's private Congo Free State, between 1885 and 1908, unknown but seemingly huge numbers of 'natives' died, many from European diseases but many too from the cruel abuse and exploitation revealed in the Roger Casement Report of 1904[7] and in the even more devastating *The Crime of the Congo* by Arthur Conan Doyle in 1909.[8] The Herero and Namaqua genocide was the responsibility of the government of German South-West Africa (today's Namibia) between 1904 and 1907: somewhere between twenty-four thousand and a hundred thousand Herero died as well as perhaps ten thousand Nama.[9]

These were only some examples from a long list of atrocities committed by British, Belgian, German, and other European colonisers in their treatment of colonised populations in Tasmania, New Zealand, the Congo, and South-West Africa.

Does Graham make any similarly critical comment on the encounter between the inheritors of the European colonial tradition and the native peoples of America? The title 'A Hegira' (in the collection *Thirteen Stories*, 1900)[10] uses the Arabic word for Muhammad's move in 622 CE from Mecca to Medina. The same word can also refer to the Muslim era, or it can mean emigration, escape, or flight. The latter meaning is the one intended in this tale where, in first-person voice, Graham recalls a directly lived experience. The tale's twelve pages are packed with detail, from which emerges a series of incidents illustrating racial hatred and at times a ghastly violence against Native Americans. In Mexico City eight Mescalero Apaches from northern Mexico – six warriors, a woman, and a boy – are held captive. Unusually, they had not been shot out of hand but transferred far south to the capital. Graham is sure that if these traditionally fierce 'Indians' escape, they will return to their northern home, if necessary through a trail of blood. Graham joins a mule-train heading north. At Tula a traveller reports that the 'Indians' have got out of their fetters, killed two guards, and escaped. The travellers in the six-carriage mule-train, though heavily armed, are terrified. As the mule-train moves slowly north, reports say that the fugitives have been joined by a dog. Near San Juan del Río two of the warriors steal a horse and

gallop off. Before San Luis Potosí armed Mexicans boast of shooting down two of the 'Indians', one of whom had been armed with a stick, the other with a stone: the Indians' heads are now tied to Mexican saddle-bows. Graham thinks often of the remaining fugitives – two warriors, the woman, the boy, and the dog. The mule-train commander spots tracks that he claims are those of the 'Indians' who 'praise to God will die upon the road, either by hunger or some Christian hand' (p. 81): the Mexican detestation of Apaches is total. A little further on a group of five Mexican riders reports that they have shot down an 'Indian' and hung the body by the feet to a huisaché tree. Graham, reflecting on the many roadside Christian crosses labelled 'Killed by the Apaches', comments: 'But still it seemed a pity, savage as they were, that so much cunning, such stoical indifference to both life and death, should always finish as the warrior whom I saw hang by the feet from the huisaché' (p. 82).

There are now 'three lone pathetic figures' (p. 83) left – one warrior, the woman, and the boy, plus the dog. The mule-train, past Saltillo and heading for Monterrey, is in the untamed territory of 'los Indios Bravos' (p. 84), where all Christians go nervous, fearful, and armed. Near Las Navas a shepherd glimpses the fugitives and describes the woman carrying the dog as a 'she-devil' (p. 85). The mule-train encounters a Texan – living in 'kornkewbinage with a native gal' (p. 85) – who the previous day with five of his Mexican cowboys came upon the 'three red devils' (p. 86). When the Texan, armed with a Winchester rifle, shot the remaining warrior and began to scalp him, the squaw and the young boy attacked like grizzly bears. 'Wal, yes, killed 'em, o' course, and anyhow the young 'un would have growed up; but the squaw I'm sort of sorry about' (p. 86). When the Texan makes to shoot the dog, his 'kornkewbyne' Pastory intervenes: the dog is spared. As Graham reflects on 'tenacity of purpose, the futility of life, and the inexorable fate which mocks mankind', the dog 'howled dismally again, and after scratching in the ground, squatted dejectedly on the fresh turned-up earth which marked the Indians' grave' (p. 86). Six of the original eight 'Indians' are now 'good Indians', in terms attributed to US general Phil Sheridan in 1869: 'The only good Indian is a dead Indian'. These six Mescalero Apaches are dead, killed by white-skinned folk of European descent.

The descendants of Spanish-speaking colonists and settlers in Mexico, as well as the descendants of English-speaking settlers in northern Mexico, are then shown to be intolerant of the native peoples and ruthless in the persecution and destruction of surviving native inhabitants. The true 'barbarians', once again, are white-skinned, from the European, 'civilised' world.

This last text stirs queries in the mind of a Latin Americanist. How familiar might Graham have been with certain key texts in Argentine nineteenth-century literature, and can any parallels be found between these texts and his thinking and his writing? Graham's tale 'The Captive' (in the collection *Hope*, 1910)[11] has as the central character a white woman abducted by 'Indians', a scenario possibly influenced in part by Esteban Echeverría's poem *La cautiva* (1837).[12] She falls in love with her white rescuer, but finally leaves him, rejecting white and European-style 'civilisation' to return voluntarily to the 'barbarism' of the 'Indian' tents and to the three children she had borne to the 'Indian' chief.

Such a rejection of European-style civilisation is not unique in Spanish-speaking America. Eduardo Galeano in his three-volume alternative history of America records an incident from the Caribbean in 1511. The 'Indian' chief Hatuey, condemned to death by the Spaniards, is offered eternal glory in heaven if he accepts baptism. Hatuey asks: 'Are there Christians in that heaven?' When told 'Yes', 'Hatuey chooses hell and the firewood begins to burn'.[13] The Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges records the experience of his grandmother on the 1870s frontier in Argentina: there she met a Yorkshire lass who had been abducted by pampa 'Indians'. When the grandmother invited her to rejoin white society, '[t]he other woman replied that she was happy and she returned, that night, to the desert' ['La otra le contestó que era feliz y volvió, esa noche, al desierto'].[14]

The young Graham in the 1870s saw for himself the huge popularity among the mainly illiterate Argentine gauchos of Part 1 (1872) of *Martín Fierro*, José Hernández's long narrative poem about the life of a prototypical gaucho on the violent frontier.[15] This poem was instantly and wholeheartedly adopted by the gauchos as their story, as their experience. Graham may even at some pampa campfire have recited the section of the poem where in the great southern wilderness Martín, the wandering gaucho

declared an outlaw, comes upon a white woman and an 'Indian'. The enraged Indian accuses the white woman of witchcraft, slashes the woman's baby and ties her hands with her baby's innards. Martín and the 'Indian' engage in a spectacular fight, won finally by the gaucho:

> Al fin de tanto lidiar
> en el cuchillo lo alcé:
> en peso lo levanté
> aquel hijo del desierto;
> ensartao lo llevé,
> y allá recién lo largué
> cuando ya lo sentí muerto.[16]

> [And there, thank God, I finished him; / Well home I rammed my knife. / I was weary and sore, but desperate, / I lifted him up as one lifts a weight; / And gutted there, from the raking steel / I threw him off when I knew by the feel / That he hadn't a spark of life.][17]

Martín and the woman flee north and in time he delivers her safely to a ranch in an area no longer threatened by 'Indians'. At this point Martín would seem almost ready to be re-integrated into white or *criollo* society. The poem reads:

> Ay mesmo me despedí
> de mi infeliz compañera.
> – Me voy – le dije – ande quiera,
> aunque me agarre el gobierno,
> pues infierno por infierno,
> prefiero el de la frontera.[18]

> [To that luckless woman I said goodbye, / I had brought through the wilderness, / 'I'm off,' I said to her, 'anywhere / Let the Government catch me for all I care / For hell against hell, if I've got to choose, / The frontier's mine, I guess.'][19]

Rather than re-enter polite European-style society, the gaucho Martín Fierro here returns to the desert, to the frontier, to the wilderness. Long decades after his first encounter in the 1870s with the landscape, customs, and values of the Argentine pampa, this refusal to engage or re-engage with European-style society is still rooted in Graham's mind: 'Charlie the Gaucho' (in the final collection *Mirages*, 1936)[20] shows an Englishman twice over, as a young man and later as a mature man, leaving the 'civilised' Europeanised world behind to enter or return to the American gaucho world.

Whereas Graham seems to have absorbed much from Echeverría and Hernández, it is more difficult to find any evidence of a positive Graham response to a third key Argentine text: Sarmiento's very influential essay of 1845, *Facundo – Civilización y barbarie*.[21] Sarmiento in *Facundo* explores the local dictatorship of Juan Facundo Quiroga within one area of Argentina. For Sarmiento this regional dictatorship is a microcosm of the savage national dictatorship of Juan Manuel de Rosas (1833–52). He also believes America's essence is barbarism, to be countered in Argentina by the introduction of European-style civilisation via a massive government-sponsored immigration programme: some 6.6 million immigrants, mainly Spanish and Italian, settled in Argentina in the later nineteenth century and early twentieth century. This figure is second only to the twenty-seven million taken in over approximately the same period by the United States. If Graham knew of the work of Sarmiento and of the great national debate that Sarmiento had stirred up, Sarmiento's thesis that American barbarism could be countered only or mainly by massive importation of Europeans and their civilising values seems not to have touched Graham. In 'Buta', 'Bristol Fashion', and 'A Hegira', Graham is so far removed from Sarmiento's Europeanising thesis that he – Graham – comes to mock the ultimate symbol of European imperial authority and grandeur, the queen-empress Victoria. His description of her funeral in 1901, in 'Might, Majesty, and Dominion' (in the collection *Success, and Other Sketches*, 1902)[22] shows heavy sarcasm in the repeated uses of 'mother of her people' before an ending where an almost Chaplinesque old man feeds ravenously, at the very heart of the Empire, on food-scraps that dogs had rejected. Graham, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist, suggests in various writings that white-skinned

Europeans in imperialistic mode in Asia, Africa, and America are undeserving of a 'civilising' justification when their treatment of native peoples in so many regions of the world was so utterly 'barbaric'.

Notes

1 R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Collected Stories and Sketches*, ed. Alan MacGillivray and John C. McIntyre, 5 vols (Glasgow: Kennedy and Boyd, 2011–12), III: *Ice House of the Mind* (2011), pp. 413–17. Further references to this story are based on this edition and are given in parentheses in the main text.

2 Cf. Najim in Graham's 'At Torfaieh', in *The Ipané* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1899), pp. 257–73.

3 Graham, *Collected Stories and Sketches,* I: *Photographed on the Brain* (2011), pp. 243–50. Further references to this story are based on this edition and are given in parentheses in the main text.

4 'De Heretico Comburendo', in G[abriella] Cunninghame Graham and R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Father Archangel of Scotland, and Other Essays* (London: A. & C. Black, 1896), pp. 65–78 (repr. in R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Collected Stories and Sketches*, I, pp. 111–16 (p. 115)).

5 Benjamin Madley, 'From Terror to Genocide: Britain's Tasmanian Penal Colony and Australia's History Wars', *The Journal of British Studies*, 47.1 (2008), pp. 77–106.

6 'A Pakeha', in *Thirteen Stories* (London: Heinemann, 1900), pp. 201–08 (repr. in Graham, *Collected Stories and Sketches*, II: *Living with Ghosts* (2011), pp. 113–16 (pp. 113–15)).

7 Roger Casement, report addressed to the Marquess of Lansdowne, 11 December 1903, publ. in *Correspondence and Report from His Majesty's Consul at Boma Respecting the Administration of the Independent State of the Congo*, House of Commons, *Accounts and Papers*, 65 vols, vol. LXII (London: Stationery Office, 1904), archive.org/stream/CasementReport/CasementReportSmall_djvu.text [accessed 30 April 2016], pp. 21–60, especially pp. 53–55.

8 New York: Doubleday, Page, at: 'First Fruits of the System', pp. 26–38. archive.org/stream/crimeofcongooodoyliala/crimeofcongooodoyliala_djvu.txt [accessed 30 April 2016].

9 Isabel V. Hull, 'The Military Campaign in German Southwest Africa, 1904–1907', *German Historical Institute Bulletin*, 37 (Fall 2005), pp. 39–44. Also Daniel A. Gross, 'A Brutal Genocide in Colonial Africa Finally Gets its Deserved Recognition', *Smithsonian.com*, 28 October 2015, www.smithsonianmag.com/history/brutal-genocide-colonial-africa-finally-gets-its-deserved-recognition-180957073/ [accessed 30 April 2016].

10 Graham, *Collected Stories and Sketches*, II, pp. 75–86. Further references to this story are based on this edition and are given in parentheses in the main text.

11 Graham, *Collected Stories and Sketches*, III, pp. 379–89.

12 Esteban Echeverría, *El matadero; La cautiva*, edición de Leonor Fleming (Madrid: Cátedra, 1986; repr. 2006).

13 Eduardo Galeano, *Memoria del fuego I – Los descubrimientos* (1982; repr. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 1989), p. 67.

14 Jorge Luis Borges, *Historia del guerrero y de la cautiva* in *El aleph* (1971; repr. Madrid: El Libro de Bolsillo, Alianza Editorial, 1991), pp. 49–54.

15 José Hernández, *El gaucho Martín Fierro. La vuelta de Martín Fierro*, edición de Luis Sáinz de Medrano (1979; repr. Madrid: Cátedra, 2010).
16 Hernández, *El gaucho Martín Fierro. La vuelta de Martín Fierro*, p. 241.
17 *'The Gaucho Martín Fierro' by José Hernández, Adapted from the Spanish and Rendered into English Verse by Walter Owen with Drawings by Alberto Güiraldes* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1916), p. 156.
18 Hernández, *El gaucho Martín Fierro. La vuelta de Martín Fierro,* p. 247.
19 *'The Gaucho Martín Fierro' by José Hernández, Adapted from the Spanish and Rendered into English Verse by Walter Owen with Drawings by Alberto Güiraldes*, p. 165.
20 Graham, *Collected Stories and Sketches*, v: *A Ring upon the Sand* (2012), pp. 241–55.
21 Domingo F. Sarmiento, *Facundo – Civilización y barbarie* (1951; repr. Buenos Aires: Colección Austral, Espasa-Calpe Argentina, 1958).
22 Graham, *Collected Stories and Sketches*, II, pp. 191–93.

11. Violet Jacob on the Capital Relation: Local and Global Flows of Privilege and (Im)mobility

ARIANNA INTRONA

Politicians and policymakers operating in the first half of the twentieth century were alert to the ways in which 'international relations and social structures mutually entail one another', as Alexander Anievas's study of class conflict and geopolitics in the first half of the twentieth century demonstrates.[1] A similar awareness of the close interconnection between global and local relations of capital and power colours the fiction of Violet Jacob (1863–1946), which treats us to lucid representations of the violence of the capital relation as it plays out at multiple scales. The notion of a 'capital relation' is helpful for replacing a vision of capital as a tangible, 'thing-like' entity with one that underscores the ways in which capital relies, for its formation, on a process of continuous accumulation which establishes particular relationships between people and things.[2] Only the latter optic is adequate for grasping the narratives of money production, circulation, and financialisation that criss-cross Jacob's work, as her characters' capacity for transformation and movement, but also their resistance to these, propels, focuses, and directs the circulation and accumulation of capital. Autonomist Marxist critic Nick Dyer-Witheford characterises the capital relation as one in which entities and activities, including human beings, take the form of commodities.[3] This resonates with Jacob's own rendition of the relationship between social structures that lock individuals in subordinate positions and the circulation of capital flows. This chapter will explore this interconnection in Jacob's short stories by examining how these dramatise the privilege afforded by the mobility of travellers; its intertwining with local, imperial, and global forms of the capital relation; and the circulation of commodities.

Jacob's 'peripatetic' life which brought her and her husband from India to Egypt to English garrison towns,[4] and her simultaneous attachment to

Scotland, India, and her mother's Welsh homeland bequeathed to her a uniquely composite lens through which to conceive of and portray unequal distributions of privilege and capital at different scales. Carol Anderson, a leading expert on Jacob, contends that her *Diaries and Letters from India*[5] may serve to illuminate 'the distinctive Scottish experience of Empire';[6] these certainly also provide a sense of how Jacob's mobile life may have influenced her vision of the local and the global as interconnected. In particular, her non-fiction writing intimates how Jacob's intense preoccupation with local power structures vis-à-vis the freedom afforded by mobility was rooted to a great extent in the awareness that the privileges she was enjoying as a traveller were conditional on her status as the wife of an imperial soldier. How experience of, and reflection on, such conditionality translated into an intensified sensitivity to the plight of subaltern individuals (a sensitivity that Jacob had already begun to develop at the Dun estate in Montrose where she grew up)[7] is beautifully suggested by an entry from her Indian diaries, in which she records:

> [B]efore getting to sleep I lay looking at the stars that seemed entangled in the boughs above my head and thinking of the good fortune of my life that had brought me into places the like of which many people have never even dreamed of, places that would convey nothing to so many I have met; but I did not forget to remember those who would give anything to see what I was seeing and would never get the chance.[8]

As a precursor to the Scottish Literary Renaissance of the 1920s, Jacob is best known for her poetry, which was praised by contemporaries such as John Buchan, who included six of her poems in the vernacular in his anthology *The Northern Muse*.[9] However, by focusing on her poetic production,[10] criticism has neglected remarkable prose work, including short stories, two collections of fairy tales, and five novels. This has exacerbated the marginalisation from discussions of modernism suffered by Jacob on the grounds of gender and nationality,[11] and has hindered the development of multiple critical angles on the fine critique of oppression by which

Jacob's fiction is energised. A taste of the rich exploration Jacob's prose sustains is provided by investigations that have engaged with her fiction from a feminist perspective. Crucially, and in ways relevant to the present discussion, these have demonstrated the powerfulness of Jacob's social critique, illuminating the ways in which she voices 'a decorous subversion'[12] through radical engagement with issues of 'power and identity' and with the experience of subaltern Scottish women.[13]

My analysis will continue this re-evaluation of Jacob's prose work by exploring the ways in which dramatisation of the violence experienced by individuals literally trapped within local structures of power is sharpened by a parallel engagement with the violence and privilege attached to global movements of capital and people. The interconnection between local and global dimensions of oppression and (im)mobility can be grasped through Dyer-Witheford's idea of capital as a storm that 'sucks up human and natural energies, transforms them into commodities bought and sold in a circulatory process that accelerates in speed and expands in scope until its super-storm engulfs the entire planet'.[14] It is this very circulatory process that interests Jacob, and my examination aims to delineate how her short stories refract this through the experiences of local populations and travellers.

Jacob's engagement with how the privilege mobility that affords is directly related to capital flows at multiple scales, and to the ways in which these capital flows articulate modes of differential (im)mobility, is particularly apparent in 'The Figurehead' (1922) and 'The Fiddler'.[15] The former is concerned with the existential difference that creates an unbridgeable chasm between locals and travellers. It relates the story of Tom Falconer, mate on the ship *William & Joann*, as he encounters Montrose through Malvina, a representative of its High Street society, and falls in love with her because she resembles the figurehead of the ship, which embodies the essence of the seafaring life he loves. Tom was born in Montrose and still loves it 'in a steady, unemotional way' (p. 119) but, having been at sea all his life, he is 'more contented in a ship than in any other place' (p. 118). However, in Tom's imagination Montrose had always been a place blotted out by his love for lands beyond the sea: when thinking of things that fascinated him in

childhood, he remembers 'a gaudy fan […] from the China Seas', and rightly notes how it had been 'a kind of signpost pointing to those outlandish, desirable places' (p. 119). Significantly, his mind remains focused on the figurehead as a symbol of 'the glittering, pathless spaces' (p. 123) of the sea that are dear to him. When he first sees Malvina 'leaning her elbows on the railing' at the top of a stairhead, 'her attitude and its stillness' remind him of the figurehead (p. 123), and we immediately learn that from now on she will be 'sought out by him because of that likeness' (p. 128). Tom's desire for Malvina to be the figurehead she resembles blinds him to her complete lack of interest 'in the seafaring part of him', stemming from the fact that she has 'no connection with salt water' (p. 127), and he soon becomes determined to marry her.

The theme of the differential possibility, and desire, to move that runs through 'The Figurehead' is complicated by the preoccupation with the differential privilege distributed to travellers and locals on the basis of their (im)mobility that informs 'The Fiddler'. The focus of the story is firmly set on the extent to which rootedness in the local dimension can play out as a form of capture. Set in Dalmain at a time when memories of the 1745 Jacobite rising are still fresh, the story contrasts Phemie and Margaret Moir's existence, stifled by their conviction that the search for the Jacobites is still on, with the experiences of two men: Neil Gow, the famous fiddler (whose first name, 'Niel', Jacob misspells), and an Englishman who has travelled to Dalmain in order to investigate his Jacobite past. We learn that in 1746 Phemie 'shut herself up with her sister and would thole nobody near them' for fear of betraying their fugitive brother, and that 'the years passed on' but 'she was too ignorant to ken that the world changes with them' (p. 70). As a counterpart to the sisters' immobility, 'Neil' Gow is portrayed as the metropolitan, modern man par excellence. Not only was he the one who kept the English soldiers dancing in Dalmain after the battle of Culloden (p. 53), but the position he has gone on to make for himself in the succeeding years is 'a remarkable one': there is 'no community in Perthshire, Angus, or the Mearns, that [does] not look on him with possessive affection' (p. 56). Masterfully, Jacob draws attention to how the relationship between Neil and Phemie reproduces the unequal possibility to move that sets the two apart, as a

result of the former's agency within the labour market as an itinerant, self-employed musician, and the latter's exclusion from it. As the minister relates, Neil 'had forgotten [Phemie] till he saw her, and then she had need to tell him before he remembered' (p. 70), while the woman could tell from afar that it was him that was playing at the neighbouring farm (p. 64).

The profound existential difference between locals and travellers and the differential privilege their positioning entails, represented in 'The Figurehead' and 'The Fiddler' respectively, are reaffirmed at the end of both stories. In the former, the idyll is disrupted when Malvina comes face to face with the figurehead she resembles: 'something in the sightless yet rapt face [strikes] her as an oddity'; and, pointing at it with her forefinger, she bursts into 'a loud peal of boisterous laughter' (p. 138). When Tom leaves Montrose on the *William & Joann*, unsurprisingly there is 'nobody waving to him from the quay', but in front of him there leads the figurehead, 'pointing out to the wideness of the sea' (p. 138). Similarly, in 'The Fiddler', by placing Phemie under the minister's protection to 'take care of the manse' (p. 73), Neil allows the old woman to break free from the self-imposed isolation within which she and her sister had been trapped. However, Phemie is far from winning her freedom and independence, and her limited mobility is contrasted with the movement of the Englishman and the fiddler, as we see the former pulling up 'upon the southern brae […] to look back' at the village and the latter 'doing the like' on the northern shore (p. 73).

How the difference between locals' and travellers' mindsets and the differential privilege afforded to them intersects with local, imperial, and global flows of capital is exemplified in 'Behind the Wall', 'The Black Man's Hand',[16] and 'The Wade Monument'.[17] In all three stories, visitors to small villages bring to light injustices suffered under the pressure of capital relations by locals unable to escape or exact revenge. In 'Behind the Wall' Wickham, a regular visitor to Shone, is able to uncover the story behind the appearances of the ghost of Ellen Swaysland, finding out that she was thirty-seven when her half-brother declared her mad in order to be able to imprison her in her house, and 'fifty-seven when they took her out of it to lay her in the churchyard' (p. 301). Tellingly, what Wickham also discovers is how Ellen's 'being mad [had] meant a fine bit of money to her half-brother' (p. 302). If

'Behind the Wall' juxtaposes Wickham's freedom to conduct his investigation with Ellen's lack of possibility to break free within the context of capital accumulation at the local level, the violence of capital flows in conjunction with imperial structures of unequal power relations provides the focus for 'The Black Man's Hand'. The story follows a young man's encounter with the supernatural portrait of Uncle Julius and his Indian servant who is thought to have disappeared alongside his master's jewels (p. 143). The way in which the protagonist is able to locate the servant's skeleton in the garden and then sell Bank Villa and burn the portrait, leaving the new owner to discover a box of Indian jewels behind the bed, which demonstrates the Indian servant's innocence (p. 151), draws attention to the structures of capture that the capital relation underpins, and to how the (im)mobilities that inform characters' existences are tightly intertwined with these. On the one hand is the Indian servant, mobile as a commodity in his journey from India to Bank Villa, then trapped in a subordinate position from which escape is only possible in the fictional narrative of his master, who kills him and accuses him of disappearing with his jewels. On the other hand is the protagonist's unconstrained movement, accompanied by the power to sever his connections with Bank Villa – and his uncle's crime – by selling the villa that he owns.

While the contrast between insurmountable capture and absolute freedom runs through 'Behind the Wall' and 'the Black Man's Hand', 'The Wade Monument' narrates the ways in which financial transactions operate in conjunction with the global circulation of people. In the story, Frederick, a young visitor to Mintern Brevil, is directed by a ghost to rehabilitate the reputation of Alured Wade who, according to official accounts, 'made away with a large sum of money and died in prison' (p. 112). Frederick's search unearths two letters that prove that Alured did not commit the theft of which he was convicted (p. 121), but covered for his friend, the real culprit (who soon fled to America with the money), in order to spare the latter's dying mother the pain of learning about her son's crime. The central place occupied in the story by the simultaneous disappearance of money and people, alongside Alured's initial complicity and consequent, unforeseen, imprisonment for life intimates the extent to which the vortex of capital,

though feeding on human activity, inevitably reaches a point when it 'detaches from human scale and human purpose'[18] and reinforces unequal distributions of economic privilege and mobility.

The differential privilege determined by (im)mobility and by the position occupied within local and global forms of the capitalist relation is frequently engaged in Jacob's work through a focus on the circulation of money and commodities, which constitutes the topic of 'Madame Chardinet'[19] and 'The Lum Hat' (1922).[20] The former is narrated from a perspective close to that of the protagonist, Barter, an English traveller whose very name suggests involvement with commercial activities. In line with this, it is his actions as customer and agent of a financial transaction that drive the plot and help to dramatise the production moment of the storm of capital, to use Dyer-Witheford's metaphor. After a long absence, Barter returns to Mantes in France in order to buy *Les Marronniers*, his godmother's house, where he spent the happiest years of his childhood. The focus of the story lies on the imaginings that accompany Barter's activity in preparation for the auction. These are presented as fantasies of possession that lead him to think of *Les Marronniers* as his by right, starting from the moment he enters the mansion and 'each aspect of it [brings] something back to him' (p. 67).

Circulation of commodities, rather than money, through the agency of travellers is the phenomenon unpacked by Jacob in 'The Lum Hat', which follows Christina Mills, devoted to the sedentary life she leads in Montrose with her father, but led by the advice of a 'gypsy' woman to marry a successful sea captain and merchant, Andrew Baird. The contrast between Christina's hitherto immobile existence and Baird's journeying around the world is anticipated by the exchange between the 'gypsy' woman and Christina, with the former suggesting to the latter that she should leave the tranquil existence she is accustomed to and marry 'a man that'll tak' [her] awa and gie [her] a sicht of the world' (p. 167), and Cristina registering how the woman's words touch 'some sleeping thing' in her mind, 'buried below the mountain of small satisfactions that [make] up her easy life' (p. 170). Importantly, Baird's encounter with Christina is lucidly framed as an economic transaction as we learn how the captain has been introduced to Christina's father, a bank manager in Montrose, in a letter from the manager of another branch of

the Bank of Angus. In line with this, Baird is powerfully endowed with the agency of both a traveller and a customer. As 'one of the best captains in his line and one considered by his owners as a rising sun' (p. 168), he is an expert in how 'in circulation, commodities are bought and sold',[21] and courts Christina in order to accede to her father's fortune. Through her union with Baird, Christina can thus be seen to enter the vortex of capital that transforms all entities and activities that hurtle around it into commodities.[22] Her commodity status is coloured by the limited agency flowing from her sedentary existence and by her subaltern position in the courtship and marriage, its value determined by her inheritance.

The relationship between global capital flows and local power structures is also the topic of 'Thievie' (1922),[23] which tells the story of how Thievie, a ferryman, and his daughter Janet are isolated from society by hard work and by the former's obsession with the box of his savings, needed by Janet in order to be able to marry. How the capital relation operates at both the global and the local scales is encapsulated by how the box's contents have been inherited from abroad. But it is Thievie's hoarding that signifies an increase of its worth, in ways reminiscent of how processes of financialisation, by bringing together the production and the consumption moments of the vortex of capital, pass 'directly from money to money magnified'.[24] Thus, we learn of how 'the box occupies the same place in Thievie and Janet's household 'as God has in most others' (p. 4). If its contents are Thievie's 'soul, his life; and sleeping, […] not far from his dreams' (p. 4), Janet too, aware that 'she would be a wife worth having for any man with the contents of that box', cannot be 'affected by any other idea' (pp. 7–8).

Remarkably, if Jacob's narratives of multiple and composite structures of oppression conjure extremely bleak scenarios, these are punctuated by vignettes that delineate attempts to overcome capture. As Anderson notes, 'freedom and constraints are recurring concerns' in Jacob's fiction.[25] If we remember the premium Jacob puts on independence in her *Diaries*, and her enhanced possibility to enjoy it in an imperial context of mobility, her representation of the double movement Anderson identifies emerges as central to Jacob's vision.

And indeed, 'Madame Chardinet' and 'The Lum Hat' share not only a concern with the circulation of money and people as customers/travellers or commodities, but also a commitment to represent the disruption of circulation that comes about through resistance. This crucially speaks to Dyer-Witheford's warning that the circulation process is 'always subject to failure or interruption'.[26] In 'Madame Chardinet', Barter's plan to buy *Les Marronniers* is thwarted by Madame Chardinet, a local lady who played the part of the villain in his childhood fantasies. Her imagined criminal essence materialises at the auction when she intervenes to bid over Barter's price, looking 'épouvantable – horrible […] a she-devil – an animal […] mad – crazy, possédée' (p. 70). Barter makes no serious attempt to explain the event: all he can be sure of is that 'Madame [has] had her revenge' (p. 71).

Similarly, in 'The Lum Hat' the global circulation in which Christina risks being caught as a commodity is interrupted by her inability to deliver a satisfactory performance as a seafaring wife to Baird. After the wedding, as soon as the *Sirius* sets sail for Australia and a storm breaks, Christina suffers, exposed to the violence of Baird and sea alike. She is 'frightened and dazed' by Baird's violence, but it is 'the physical fear' with which the storm infects her that finally overwhelms her, 'obliterating everything else' (p. 189). Baird judges her defects as a wife in explicitly economic terms:

> [W]hat kind of life was he going to have with such a bargain as had saddled himself with? […] now he had to sail all the way to Australia and back with a woman who seemed to be no more than a useless encumbrance. (p. 193)

At the same time, Christina decides to flee and return to her quiet existence, defined by an earnest attachment to her privileged circumstances, 'nothing positive or emotional, but something to be counted on' (p. 161). Reunited with 'the familiar furniture surrounding her father's footstool' (p. 207) and 'the well-known shape that had always been one with her father's existence', Christina refuses to marry again when another opportunity arises (p. 217).

Crucially, both Madame Chardinet's and Christina's disruption of the transactions with which they become involved is predicated on the two

women's affluent status. If the moment of production in the vortex of capital seizes on 'the human capacity to work: labour power',[27] both Madame Chardinet and Christina can be considered able to withdraw from the flow of circulation because they can afford to refuse participation in the flow of production. This is not the case for Janet in 'Thievie': if, throughout the story, she remains someone who has 'inherited too much of her father's love of money-making to be deeply affected by any other idea' (p. 7), Jacob pointedly relates this to the woman's entrapment within the moment of production in the vortex of capital. Janet, who has been tied 'all her life, to her father and his box' (pp. 7–8), is condemned by his hoarding to 'the toil that had been a man's toil, not a woman's', because she cannot make use of that money for everyday consumption or as a dowry, and had thus 'built a barrier round her to cut her off from a woman's life' (p. 9). Dyer-Witheford expands on how there are two moments to the process of circulation: in the first, 'proletarians sell their capacity to labour for a wage, as "workers"'; in the second, 'the human caught up in the production moment of the vortex as "worker" reappears as "customer"'.[28] Janet's only chance to escape intense exploitation as a worker is dependent on her taking possession of the box, which would allow her to enter circulation as a customer. Her hope is encouraged by a local man, Willie Black, who remarks to her: 'what's the advantage o' [Thievie] sittin' yonder, an' a' that siller just nae use ava' till him […] ye'd be a real fine lass wi' yon at yer back' (p. 7). However, circulation never materialises because Thievie hurls himself, 'with the box in his arms', off the boat onto which Janet forces him when the rising waters of the river flood their hut (p. 20).

This chapter has explored the ways in which Jacob's short fiction engages with the differential privilege afforded to travellers and local populations caught up within capital flows grounded in global as much as local dimensions. Tellingly, of the three moments (production, circulation, and financialisation) that make up the vortex of capital,[29] it is the rotational motion the second represents that preoccupies Jacob most intensely. This is exemplified by the transactions of travellers like Baird in 'The Lum Hat' and Barter in 'Madame Chardinet', but also by the movements of money in 'The Black Man's Hand', 'The Wade Monument', and 'Thievie'. At the same

time, 'Thievie' pointedly relates circulation to the funnel of the 'storm' (production) that sucks up human energies; while the refusal of both production and circulation is dramatised in 'The Lum Hat'. Similarly, circulation often intersects with the crashing turbulence of financialisation that magnifies the capital involved in exchanges[30] in ways that imperil the continuance of said exchanges, as is most apparent in 'Madame Chardinet' and 'Thievie'.

Not only did Jacob's vision chime with contemporary awareness of the interconnection between international relations and local social structures; it also betrays the influence of the peripatetic life which brought her into contact with contexts as different as India, Egypt, and English garrison towns. At the same time, it sat awkwardly within the context of early twentieth-century Scottish literature, where the political history of the nation was already expected to be the relevant context to the literary and critical production positioned within its disciplinary framework. This can be gleaned from the reception of her prose by contemporary Scottish literati: most famously, Hugh MacDiarmid deemed Jacob's idea of Scottishness inappropriate and 'markedly racial in character […] yet seldom, if ever, nationalistic in tone'.[31] For MacDiarmid, Jacob's particular fault lay in 'her apparent obliviousness to the vital problems confronting Scottish nationality' (p. 47), resulting in her contributing a mere 'new consciousness of technique' to vernacular verse (p. 43), and in her failure as a novelist 'to found or to further a Scottish – not an English – tradition' (p. 47).

This illustrates how Jacob's oeuvre – through its concern with the different moments of the vortex of capital in their local and global manifestations, and through her contemporary acceptance within the canon of Scottish literature as a national poet in greater measure than as a national prose writer – opens up questions about which contexts are deemed relevant for dramatisation in Scottish writing and for theorisation by recent Scottish literary criticism. In the 2015 issue of *Studies in Scottish Literature*, devoted to unpacking the legacy of the 2014 independence referendum in Scottish literary studies, Anthony Jarrells's 'Introduction' argues that 'Scottish literature will be invigorated not only by the current, heady political debate, centred on Scotland's national specificities, but also by the connections

opened up through relating and translating these specificities into other contexts: regional, national, global'.[32] As we have seen, Jacob engages the local and the global, in their own specificity and interconnection, in ways that index the irrelevance of the national dimension at the experiential level. Consequently, her representation of the encounter of territories and communities with capital fits uneasily within the nation-centred framework that many Scottish literature practitioners, encouraged by the present conjuncture, advocate as their favoured way of reading political context alongside political texts. It can then be argued that post-indyref Scottish politics and culture, characterised by the nationalist over-determination of Scottish politics and by the reproduction of these dynamics at the level of literary criticism, may ultimately constrain theorisation of the relevance of local and global struggles for Scottish writing.

Jacob's work and life help us think of how this relationship needs not be mediated by the nation, but can directly unfold through connections between disparate territories of struggle under austerity. Further insights into how this can be thought are provided by Carla Sassi, likewise in the above-mentioned issue of *Studies in Scottish Literature*. Sassi indicates a nuanced way forward for engaging with context in ways that take stock of the newly recognised hegemony of nationalist politics, while expanding the field of vision from a Scottish-only to a wider European nationalist 'topicality'. She suggests that if the referendum conjuncture has 'made Scotland's national specificities more visible across the world', it has also tied 'Scottish cultural expressions to a specific political project and historically determined moment'.[33] In this scenario, Sassi explains, Scotland's 'newly-discovered political topicality' plays out in relation to 'a new European discourse of independence and self-governance for minority nations and regions', and it is in this manifestation that it functions as 'a privileged threshold' into the field of Scottish studies.[34] Sassi's speculations can be taken to open up discussion around the need for engagement with the interconnection between Scottish and European political contexts within Scottish studies at a plane that exceeds that of the nation, while not disregarding the powerfulness of Scotland's 'newly-discovered political topicality' and its nationalist colour. If read alongside Jacob's representations of the capital relation in its

local and global manifestations, they facilitate consideration of the contexts of struggle that a nation-centred post-indyref focus writes out of relevance for Scottish writing and studies.

The task for Scottish studies might then lie in engaging with the critical foreclosure that a focus on national specificities can exercise on analysis of political, social, and cultural struggles under capitalism, and of their refraction through cultural, literary, and critical narratives. It would involve drawing on critical approaches capable of making visible this critical foreclosure, as well as foreclosed literary narratives, through a logic autonomous from national categories of analysis. Jacob's dramatisation of the violence of capital reveals how her critique of unequal social relations locates these in the global and the local dimensions. Self-consciously positioning this in relation to current developments in the discipline of Scottish studies allows reflection on the pressure the contemporary moment exerts on theorisation of local, national, and global contexts vis-à-vis literary texts. The way in which Jacob's essays, diaries, and letters evince a profound attachment to Scotland, India, and her mother's Welsh homeland further suggests that a political vision discounting the national context as a determinant in everyday struggles, and as relevant to their portrayal in writing, can be rooted in involvement with the very localities and movements the national dimension overwrites in theory and practice.

Notes

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2 Werner Bonefeld, 'Capital, Labour and Primitive Accumulation?', in *The Labour Debate: An Investigation into the Theory and Reality of Capitalist Work*, ed. Ana C. Dinerstein and Michael Neary (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 88.
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4 Sarah Dunnigan, 'Introduction', in Violet Jacob, *The Golden Heart and Other Fairy Stories* (Glasgow: Kennedy & Boyd, 2011), pp. xiii–xl (p. xiv).
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8 Jacob, *Diaries and Letters from India*, p. 67.
9 John Buchan (ed.), *The Northern Muse* (London: Nelson, 1924).
10 For instance, see Joy Hendry's 'Twentieth-Century Women's Writing: The Nest of Singing Birds' and Colin Milton's 'Modern Poetry in Scots before MacDiarmid', in *The History of Scottish Literature*, ed. Cairns Craig, 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987–88), IV: *Twentieth Century*, ed. Craig (1987); and *Voices from their Ain Countrie*.
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12 Freeman, p. 8.
13 Carol Anderson, 'Debatable Land: The Prose Work of Violet Jacob', in *Tea & Leg-Irons: New Feminist Readings from Scotland*, ed. Caroline Gonda (London: Open Letters, 1992), pp. 31–44 (pp. 33–34).
14 Dyer-Witheford, p. 21.
15 Both can be found in *Flemington and Tales from Angus*, ed. Carol Anderson (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1998), pp. 117–38 and 49–73. Further references to these stories are given in the text.
16 Both in Violet Jacob, *The Fortune-Hunters and Other Stories* (London: John Murray, 1910), pp. 289–304 and 134–51.
17 In Violet Jacob, *The Lum Hat and Other Stories: Last Tales*, ed. Ronald Garden (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1982), pp. 102–23. Further references to all three stories are given in the text.
18 Dyer-Witheford, p. 21.
19 In Jacob, *The Lum Hat and Other Stories*, pp. 63–71.
20 In Jacob, *Flemington and Tales from Angus*, pp. 159–217. Further references to both stories are given in the text.
21 Dyer-Witheford. p. 22.
22 Ibid.
23 In Jacob, *Flemington and Tales from Angus*, pp. 1–20.
24 Dyer-Witheford, p. 23.
25 Carol Anderson, 'Introduction', in Jacob, *Flemington and Tales from Angus*, pp. xi–xvii (p. xv).
26 Dyer-Witheford, p. 22.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Dyer-Witheford, p. 23.
31 C. M. Grieve, *Contemporary Scottish Studies* (London: Leonard Parsons, 1926), p. 40. Further references are given in the text.
32 Anthony Jarrells, 'Introduction: Cultural Nationalism in Scottish Literary Studies. The View from Elsewhere', in *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 41 (2015), pp. 3–8 (p. 8).
33 Carla Sassi, 'Changing Times: A Post-Indyref View from Italy', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 41 (2015), pp. 9–14 (p. 11).
34 Ibid.

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The European age of empires launched a process of capitalist globalisation that continues to the present day. It is also inextricably linked with the spread of revolutionary discourses, in terms of race, nation, or social class: the quest for emancipation, political independence, and economic equality. Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham (1852–1936), in both his life and his oeuvre, most effectively represents the complex interaction between imperial and revolutionary discourses in this dramatic period. Throughout his life he was an outspoken critic of injustice and inequality, and his appreciation of the demands and customs of diverse territories and contrasting cultures were hallmarks of his life, his political ideas, and his writing. These essays explore the expression of these ideas in the works of Cunninghame Graham and of other Scottish writers of the period.

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